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CSFR, Hungary, Poland Meet in Bratislava 9 Apr

Summit Aims; SFRY, Austria, Italy 'Observers'

LD0604223790 Prague CTK in English 1551 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky told journalists here today that the summit of the highest representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary due to take place in Bratislava on Monday [9 April] is aimed at extending debate and at an open exchange of views on topical international issues.

"The initiatives of President Vaclav Havel and concrete steps of the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister are aimed at extending debate and at an open exchange of views on the topical questions of the international development—that is also a mission of the meeting of the presidents, premier and foreign ministers that will take place in Bartislava on Monday," Lubos Dobrovsky said.

He informed the journalists that despite various speculations of the foreign press, the meeting that was proposed by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel during his visit to Poland and Hungary last February will take place in the proposed composition: the heads of state of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, accompanied by their prime ministers and foreign ministers, the foreign ministers of Italy, Yugoslavia and Austria as observers and eleven-member delegations from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary representing these countries' public.

Lubos Dobrovsky voiced the conviction that the meeting will focus on the Czechoslovak proposal to create an European security commission, about which Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier for the first time informed his colleagues from the Warsaw Treaty member countries at a meeting in Prague on March 17, and on which an official memorandum was issued here today. Hopefully, nationality questions will not prevail at the summit, he said.

The closest to the Czechoslovak stand on creating new structures in the interest of security and cooperation in Europe is the stand of Hungary. The stand of the Soviet Union is the remotest but not negative. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stressed at the meeting in Prague that the Czecoslovak proposal is interesting and inspiring and that it will be necessary to study it thoroughly, Lubos Dobrovsky said.

Democratic Forum To Attend

LD0904030590 Budapest MTI in English 2336 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—Acording to MTI's information, leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum will also participate in the trilateral Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian summit to open in Bratislava on Monday. HDF Vice-President Ferenc Kulin, and Peter Akos Bod and Csaba Gy. Kiss are expected to travel to the Slovak capital.

Hungarian Representatives Listed

LD0904132390 Budapest MTI in English 1244 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava, April 9 (MTI)—Hungary is to be represented at the trilateral summit involving Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, by Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, Miklos Nemeth, Prime Minister, and Gyula Horn, foreign minister.

The meeting, which started in Bratislava on April 9, is being attended by the heads of state, prime ministers and foreign ministers of the three countries.

Other members of the Hungarian delegation include Gy. Csaba Kiss, Ferenc Kulin, and Peter Akos Bod (HDF) [Hungarian Democratic Forum], Ferenc Koszeg (AFD) [Alliance of Free Democrats], Imre Pozsgay (HSP) [Hungarian Socialist Party], and Maria Jakab, president of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary.

A draft communique was submitted to the Czechoslovak partners ahead of the summit concerning the situation of national minorities in Hungary.

The nationality issue is expected to be on the agenda of discussions between Messrs Szuros and Havel.

Preliminary ideas of the Czechoslovak hosts are that participants will first attend a plenary session to hold an informal exchange of ways of promoting regional cooperation, and ways of aligning the three central European countries to western Europe.

The fact that Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy are participating at the summit as observers would indicate that participants are due to survey possibilities of extending the Alps-Adria cooperation agreement—which can look back on a long tradition—to include Czechoslovakia and Poland as well.

In addition, a new Czechoslovak scheme to create a European security committee will also come up for discussion.

The task of the new security structure the Czechoslovaks are proposing would be to phase out the causes which led to the world's being divided into military blocs at the time.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Leave for Summit

LD0904065490 Warsaw PAP in English 0610 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and

foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski went to Bratislava this smorning to take part in the Polish-Hungarian-Czechoslovak summit. The three are accompanied by prominent figures of Poland's political scene, including Bronislaw Geremek and Andrzej Wielowieyski.

Summit Opens 9 Apr

LD0904085890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] The meeting of the presidents and the public of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, the Republic of Hungary, and the Republic of Poland has opened at Bratislava Castle today [9 April]. The foreign ministers of Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy are also present as observers. The meeting participants were welcomed in the Federation Hall of Bratislava Castle by Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic.

The first point on the morning agenda is a joint plenary session of all participants of the meeting. Afterwards, there will be separate talks involving the presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers of participating countries.

Vaclav Havel will give a gala luncheon in honor of the meeting's participants. Foreign ministers will brief journalists about the results of the meeting at a news conference at 1730 [1530 GMT], which will be broadcast in a live relay by Radio Czechoslovakia.

Leaders Meet on Role in Europe

LD1004020190 Prague CTK in English 0845 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 9 (CTK)—A meeting between leading state officials and representatives of the public from Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia opened here today with the aim to consider possibilities of a coordinated return of these countries to Europe.

The "meeting '90", which is the name of the event, is taking place on the initiative of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and is attended by Hungarian President Matyas Szuros, Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski and by the premiers and foreign ministers of the three countries.

The foreign ministers of Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy are taking part as observers.

The joint meeting of the Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak representatives, held in Bratislava today, was opened by Slovak Premier Milan Cic who said that since the Bratislava peace in 1805 this is the most representative diplomatic meeting ever held here. Then he asked the Czechoslovak president to take the floor.

In his address, Vaclav Havel characterized the main objective of the meeting—a return to Europe. He said that it was impossible to go back to the Europe of the past but that it was necessary to think about a Europe of the future and to draw a timetable of steps to be taken to achieve this. In this context, he mentioned the forthcoming summit on European cooperation and security which should lay foundations for a new European system. Then he put forward ten principal issues of common interest to which today's meeting should [words indistinct].

Hungarian President Matyas Szuros stressed the need for clarifying some issues of bilateral relations which are a significant condition for a joint return to Europe. He also underlined several important moments of the process of unification of Germany.

He voiced satisfaction with the Bratislava meeting and underlined that some specific issues will be dealt with during separate talks later. He also pointed out that it is necessary to concentrate on European issues and not to discuss questions of the Third World or China.

Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the significance of today's meeting. In view of the complicated political and economic changes in Eastern Europe, it is necessary to search for new regulations, new set up of relations in this region. The opening up towards Europe is the basis of the policy of the countries of this region, Jaruzelski stressed but pointed to the existence of the danger of populism and nationalism. "The different level of economic standards of our three states must not create inferiority complexes in us. On the contrary, we have to be aware of our own contribution to Europe", he underlined and added in harmony with the opinion of President Havel that the countries should not return to Europe separately or even compete.

"We have to contribute to the creation of new Europe and not to create the syndrome of a late-comer", Wojciech Jaruzelski said and dealt then with the Polish-Soviet relations, including the trends to create new identities of the country's individual parts, especially Lithuania. He stressed that it is necessary to prevent the reviewing of Gorbachev's policy. "We have to do everything to benefit both him and Lithuania", he said.

The presidents of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia had separate talks on topical questions connected with integration processes in Europe here in the afternoon.

The premiers of the governments of the three states and delegations representing the Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak public had also separate discussions.

The foreign ministers of Hungary, Poland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Italy and Czechoslovakia conferred about prospects of new Europe.

The meeting continued at Bratislava castle by separate talks in the afternoon.

Czechoslovak and Hungarian Presidents Vaclav Havel and Matyas Szuros dealt with a number of issues of common interest, especially with the position of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and the Slovak minority in Hungary. They agreed that the two countries want to

fully respect the collective rights of national minorities as it is usual in the democratic states.

Both sides rejected the principle of collective blame fixed in the Kosice government program of 1945 (a plan of the provisional Czechoslovak Government created in April 1945 in Kosice, east Slovakia).

They briefed each other on a broad spectrum of steps which the two countries have done and intend to do with the aim to fulfill all social, economic and cultural rights of national minorities. They also said that they will consult these questions more intensively than ever before and will create a mixed commission for their solution. They want to issue a joint declaration on these issues soon.

Separate talks were held also by the premiers of the governments and delegations representing the Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak public.

The foreign ministers of the countries involved discussed the prospects of Europe.

After separate deliberations, representatives of the countries participating in "meeting '90" here today resumed joint talks.

The press release on "meeting '90" said that discussed was specification of foreign political questions as they ensue from the effort of Central and East European countries at coordination of the line pursued in their return to Europe.

The talks took place in a friendly, frank and informal atmosphere. The participants had a fruitful exchange of views on questions of European security and all-European as well as regional cooperation.

They pointed to the difficulties inherent in the new situations, including problems of national minorities and lagging behind advanced countries in the economy.

The participants also discussed the Czechoslovak and Polish proposals for new security structures in Europe, and the proposal to found a Central European university.

They agreed to set up a group to draft soon the text of a declaration on cooperation and a joint course of action of the countries of central and Eastern Europe, the press release on "meeting '90" said.

Spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Lubos Dobrovsky opened in Bratislava today a press conference on the results of the meeting of the presidents and premiers of the governments of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia and foreign ministers of Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The press conference was attended by the foreign ministers of the participating states with the exception of Hungary as the Hungarian delegation had to leave after the talks.

Lubos Dobrovsky announced that the ministers agreed to convene a meeting of experts or deputy foreign ministers in Prague in June 1990 which would discuss the preparations for the Helsinki II conference.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis stressed the determination of his government to enable the Eastern European countries to join the European communities quickly.

Commenting on the establishment of a new "Bratislava process" and its characteristics, Czechoslovak foreign Minsiter Jiri Dienstbier stressed: "We have discussed cooperation which is to lead not to our integration but to a common road towards all-European integration. We have discussed how to contribute to what French President Francois Mitterrand calls European confederation".

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock underlined that this process is an enormous step forward in removing the dividing line in Europe and that it will continue.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis expressed the conviction that the proposals put forward in Bratislava today will draw the attention of the whole of Europe as the process of european integration is being realized these days. It means not only unification but the return of some states among European nations, he pointed out.

The Polish foreign minister said that Poland and Sweden are the organizers of the Baltic conference. The two states have recognized that there is room also for Czechoslovakia at this conference, he stressed, and voiced the opinion that not only the Baltic states should participate in it. Czechoslovakia is a state for which the Baltic Sea has economic importance.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia is interested in this cooperation as it belongs to the Baltic countries with a port in Szczeczin and to the Scandinavian states as it ranks among the biggest polluters of air in Scandinavia. Cooperation in ecology and transport can be very useful for Czechoslovakia, he stressed.

Havel Welcomes Guests, Poses Main Questions

LD0904111390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpts] As already reported, this morning Bratislava was the setting for a Central European summit. It welcomed the presidents, premiers, and foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, and the chiefs of diplomacy of Austria, Italy, and Yugoslavia. The representatives of the states are deliberating separately in the premises of Bratislava Castle and the Slovak National Council. [passage omitted]

Later, in the Federation Hall, President of the Republic Vaclav Havel, Premier Marian Calfa, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and Cic and Pithart, the Slovak and Czech premiers, welcomed the delegations of individual

countries. The delegation of the Republic of Hungary is led by Matyas Szuros, acting president. Also in the delegation are Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Affairs Minister Guyla Horn. The delegation of the Republic of Poland is led by President Wojciech Jaruzelski. Its other members are Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Austria, and Italy are present as observers. The delegations are led by ministers Budimir Loncar, Alois Mock, and Gianni de Michelis.

After a joint, symbolic toast to the success of the meeting, a plenary session in the Knights' Hall began at 1000. It was opened by Slovak Premier Milan Cic. He welcomed all those present at the ancient Bratislava castle, and said, among other things, that since the 1806 Bratislava peace treaty meeting, this is the most representative meeting to have been held in this place.

The floor was then taken by President Vaclav Havel. He said that the aim of this meeting is a return to Europe. At the same time he said that it is impossible to return to the Europe of the past, that we must strive for a Europe of the future, and that it is our duty to set the schedule of this return.

He put 10 questions to those present for them to answer. I will recall only a few of them, for example, concerning the face of the future Europe. At issue is the transformation of military pacts and the creation of a new system of security guarantees. There was also a question on whether we are able to come closer and make a rapprochement on questions such as, for example, the problems of this region—the questions of ecology and economy, human rights, nationalities issues—in short, the whole range of problems which should be tackled in further talks in the course of today. We will report on this later.

Further on Havel's 10 Summit Questions

LD0904205190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Today's number one event, about which we kept you regularly informed during the day, was a meeting of the representatives of governments and the public of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, Hungarian Republic and Polish Republic. [passage omitted]

President Vaclav Havel said in his speech that the aim of today's meeting was the return to Europe—but not to the Europe of the past. The meeting is a stimulus for thinking together about its future, which should above all answer 10 principal questions put to those present here by Vaclav Havel in his speech.

[Begin Havel recording, in Czech] My first question is: Are we capable or not of coming close today to defining a position which would express the common direction of our thinking about the future Europe? My second question is: Are we capable or not of agreeing that we do not wish to hinder each other when entering these mechanisms—and even envy each other's entering these mechanisms; do we, on the contrary, wish to help each other to enter them?

The third question which we should ask ourselves could be this one: Are we capable of expressing our common approach toward those blocs to which we belong—but the possibilities and tasks of which have been changing radically these days—that is, [expressing our common approach] toward the Warsaw Pact and CEMA?

I put forward a fourth question: Are we capable of finding a common approach toward solving our ecological, social, cultural, economic, political and security problems? Ideas have emerged about some sort of North or Baltic equivalent of the Adriatic alliance and about Czechoslovakia as the geographically logical link between these two working committees.

This takes us to the fifth question: Are these questions following the correct direction or not? Does anybody among those present here have a more meaningful idea, and are we capable of agreeing on its meaningfulness?

The sixth question which arises from the substance of the matter itself is: Are we today also capable of clearly and jointly seeing that respect for human rights, in the widest sense of the word, is a common starting point for our policy?

My seventh question is: Are we capable of jointly articulating our will to do everything to prevent anybody around us suffering simply because he speaks another language, or feels himself to be a member of this or that nation? Are we capable, through a system of effective guarantees for observing collective rights of various nations and ethnic groups, of building a firm barrier against all kinds of nationalisms and chauvinisms?

The eighth question: Are we capable or not of expressing our common concern that the nations of the Soviet Union, which underwent the same experience of totalitarianism as we did, should be able to find again quickly, and peacefully, their lost identity and look for their own ways to achieve real democracy?

The ninth question: The people of the People's Republic of China desire freedom, and we who are becoming free must fully undersand their desire. Should we not take some kind of stance on the occasion of the upcoming anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre, which suppressed the purest things desired by every young person: freedom, peace and humanity?

And, finally, the 10th and last question: Are we capable of expressing our awareness of shared responsibility for the development of the countries of the so-called Third World, which often fear that the current integration processes in Europe will threaten their already very difficult position in the world? [end recording]

Hungary's Szuros Reacts to Havel's Questions

LD0904155190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our special correspondent Gabor Nemes reports on the Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian summit meeting in Bratislava:

[Nemes] Are we capable of creating a system of collective guarantees and collective agreements which would erect a wall in front of nationalism and chauvinism and would guarantee nationality rights? This was a theoretical question President Havel posed at the Czechoslovak-Polish-Hungarian summit in Bratislava. But, apart from this, as food for thought, he also put forward 10 other issues, to be freely debated, beginning with the creation of a new European security system to the situation in the Soviet Union and in China.

Matyas Szuros, for the Hungarian side, considered that the ample menu of issues was a little too much. He would have kept to Europe, and he harped on the question of whether more time could not be given rather to concrete bilateral matters, such as to the practical solution of nationality problems.

Summit Assesses Mutual Relations

LD0904131390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Michal Michalcik from the summit meeting of presidents, premiers, and foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland in Bratislava on 9 April—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on opening ceremony] Michael Zantovsky, the press secretary of the president of the Republic, has briefed Czechoslovak and foreign journalists—of whom there are more than 200 present here—a short while ago about the course of the joint meeting, which has been held behind closed doors. He has promised to come to our radio studio to talk to us directly, but, unfortunately, he has not come, and this is therefore a brief account of the speech made by President Havel.

In the opening passage of his speech, Havel dealt first of all with our entry into Europe. In this connection he posed the question as to whether we were capable of not trying to outpace each other and therefore getting in each other's way, but, on the contrary, of helping each other. He also talked about our countries' relations with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA—that is, with the organizations that are in their present forms just barely functional.

In connection with the formation of the Danube-Adriatic groupings, he pointed at Poland's legitimate concerns. The Poles are worried lest they remain outside the newly emerging structures in Europe and find themselves once again in between the two great powers: Germany and the Soviet Union.

With regard to the development in that country, the president praised Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of restructuring, but voiced his concern that it has been losing the necessary pace and courage during the past months.

In conclusion, he said that should a joint answer to all the questions he had been asked—because, as he put it, already in the time of Socrates the best form of a debate was to ask questions—not to be found at the current meeting in Bratislava, then either these questions about the current processes in Europe were formulated badly, or they were conceived too slowly in our countries, and therefore we have to do more in this regard.

The plenary meeting is currently continuing in the Knights' Hall, during which the heads of all delegations are expected to make speeches. After a joint luncheon, separate meetings will take place between the presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers, as well as representatives of the public. At around 1700 [1500 GMT], all the presidents will visit the headquarters of the Public Against Violence at Jiraskova Street, and at 1730 [1530 GMT] a news conference will take place in the castle with the foreign ministers. We will be relaying this directly on Radio Czechoslovakia.

Szuros, Jaruzelski React to Summit

LD0904141890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Today in Bratislava, Slovak Premier Milan Cic opened a joint deliberation of highest state representatives and representatives of the public of the Republic of Hungary, Republic of Poland, and the Czechoslovak Federative Republic, which was convened at the initiative of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

Later, Hungarian Acting President Matyas Szuros, in keeping with some passages of Vaclav Havel's address, spoke about the necessity of clarifying certain issues of bilateral relations, which he considers to be an important condition for a joint entry into Europe. He emphasized some important factors in the process of the unification of Germany. Matyas Szuros then went on to express his pleasure at the meeting in Bratislava and at the fact that he would have another opportunity to discuss certain specific questions of Czechoslovak- Hungarian relations at a separate meeting.

The Polish president, Wojciech Jaruzelski, also described today's meeting as an important political factor. He said that openness toward Europe, where we are at one, is the foundation of our countries' policy. He added, however, that there exist various dangers, such as populism and nationalism. In accordance with Vaclav Havel's view, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that we should not succumb to the temptation to enter Europe separately on our own or to even compete when entering Europe.

SFRY's Loncar Addresses Summit

LD0904125790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has proposed that a committee of ministers be set up within the framework of the CSCE, to meet on a regular basis and eventually develop into an institution devoted to monitoring and directing the changes in Europe.

Budimir Loncar disclosed this idea in Bratislava, where a summit of the heads of states and governments of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary began today within the framework of the so-called "Havel initiative," in which the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Italy, and Austria, in their capacity as observers, also took part.

In his address on behalf of Yugoslavia, "a country which paved the ways regarded today as valuable to civilization," Budimir Loncar said that a new basis for stability and the balance of interests in Europe, where the doctrine of the balance of power has already been transcended, should be sought in the CSCE process as a reliable framework for creating a new order on the old continent. That framework, in Loncar's words, encompasses equality, protection of interests, noninterference, exclusion of pressures, and the fulfillment of all sovereign national rights and human freedoms.

Loncar maintains that on the basis of these principles the reunification of the German people can be carried out as a natural and positive historical result of the end to the cold war and Europe's division into blocs. In this regard he voiced the expectation, shared with the majority of Europeans, that two key and indivisible aspects would dominate the resolution of the German question—that a united German would be an integral part of a new all-European security system, and that the interests of all European countries, particularly those of its neighbors, would be heeded. "I expect the reunification of Germany to contribute to the stability, security, and prosperity of Europe, rather than the other way round," Loncar stressed.

Reflecting on what the process of European reintegration inciudes, the head of the Yugoslav diplomatic service pointed out a possibility of resolving problems through regional cooperation, as it is one of the most effective options available today. Economic integrations have become an inevitable rule, Loncar said, stressing that while we cannot becoome attractive partners to each other overnight and equal on the competitive market, we must nevertheless approach this goal step by step. This would constitute a movement toward a new balance of interests, which also implies economic security.

In this connection, Loncar singled out the EC as "the anchorage of Europe's economic stability and its strongest center of gravitation." The sooner the idea about the so-called concentric circles in European integration is implemented, Loncar maintains, the quicker all-European interests will be met. In so doing, Loncar stressed, areas outside Europe, the so-called Third World, cannot be ignored since Europe, no matter how good its internal economic links are, cannot count on long-term prosperity without links with the rest of the world.

Budimir Loncar sees regional cooperation in industrial, scientific, technological, communication and traffic links, and the protection of the environment and culture. A special role is assigned to human rights as the category that transcends ideologies and any political interests. Loncar stressed, because they command special attention among neighbors, specifically relating to the status and development of national minorities.

Regional cooperation, Loncar underscored, as well as that on the European level, must not be restrictive, and particularly not isolationist. The higher the number of such regional groups, the greater will be their influence on European soil, something that will draw us even closer to the European sphere, the head of Yugoslav diplomatic service stressed.

Speaking about concrete forms of regional cooperation, which are also being discussed at this Bratislava meeting, Budimir Loncar particularly mentioned Czechoslovakia, which could be the backbone of some potential North European regional cooperation and quadripartite cooperation between Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria and Hungary. In this regard, Loncar welcomed Czechoslovakia's joining the quadripartite initiative as a contribution to the implementation of the concrete and practical contents of this regional cooperation.

Jaruzelski Addresses Summit

LD0904150190 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava, April 9—Polish President Wojcieh Jaruzelski, while addressing the Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian summit today, referred to one of the problems touched upon in the introductory address delivered by President Vaclav Havel, concerning changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

Jaruzelski said: Currently, our country has a chance to have good relations with both the Eastern and the Western neighbour. But we all have to be aware of the complex situation in the Soviet Union. We must avoid missionary tones and not resort to reviewing the policy pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev. Our today's talks should serve both the cause of Lithuania and the policy of the president of the Soviet Union, said Jaruzelski.

Mazowiecki Calls Summit 'Unconventional'

LD0904185890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Statement by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki for Polish television in Bratislava; date not given]

[Text] I must say that President Havel makes his speeches unconventional, that the whole meeting is unconventional and lacking in protocol. Therfore, I, too, began in the same way and said something unconventional; namely, I told President Havel that his initiative to call such a meeting is reciprocal in relation to Poland, because in 1364, Casimir the Great [Polish king] also organized a meeting in which rulers of the Czech lands and Hungary took part. And I expressed the wish that the interval would not be as long again.

On our part, I stressed that what we have to do above all is to create, as it were, exemplary cooperation between these three countries, an exemplary situation which will influence the whole situation in Europe. We propose to begin systematic consultations, especially between foreign ministers of these three countries, and I think that matters of economic and cultural cooperation—we spoke about a European university which could be created in this part of Europe—that within this framework these problems would be easier to tackle. We also spoke about our proposal for a Council for European Cooperation, about the Czechoslovak proposal for a Commission for European Security. We agree that these are not rival proposals; that they can be integrated.

Szuros on Summit Objectives

LD0904163990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] The most important objective of the Bratislava summit meeting is for the participants to discuss how it will be possible to readapt, together, to the European processes. This is what Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the Republic, told Hungarian journalists in the Slovak capital. In his view, to achieve this it is indispensable that well-functioning democracies develop in the countries concerned and that the cooperating sides sort out their bilateral relations as well. In the interest of achieving this and in conjunction with reducing the role of the military factor, it is necessary to place the tasks of economic cooperation at the forefront, and it is necessary to guarantee human as well as nationality rights, said Matyas Szuros.

According to the Czechoslovak foreign affairs spokesman, a certain tension was evident at the morning session between the speeches of the Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Polish heads of state. Vaclav Havel felt it was most important, within the framework of the new European security system to be created, to work out the appropriate timetables for the countries concerned for a joint return to Europe. At the same time, Matyas Szuros considered the most important precondition of a return to be a clarification of bilateral realations, while Wojciech Jaruzelski cautioned against the dangers of nationalism in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

Havel Hosts Summit Dinner

LD0904173390 Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 9 (CTK)—Allow me to toast to the success of our talks in this hotel which had been owned by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and now belongs to the Slovak government, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said here today.

Vaclav Havel hosted a dinner in honour of the meeting 90 participants.

After the dinner, Bratislava Mayor Roman Hofbauer presented the presidents of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the foreign ministers of Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy with commemorative medals of the Slovak capital.

He said on the occasion that always when talks were held in Bratislava in the past, these were talks on peace and cooperation.

Hungarian-CSFR Nationalities Statement Adopted

LD0904171290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Evelyn Forro from the Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish summit in Bratislava]

[Text] A Hungarian-Czechoslovak joint statement has been adopted on the rights of nationalities. The principle of collective guilt and reciprocity [reciprocitas] was condemned. This is the greatest result of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish summit in Bratislava, which is also attended by the Italian, Austrian, and Yugoslav foreign ministers, who are participating as guests.

Matyas Szuros said after the discussion that the nationalities were dealt with on the basis of the Hungarian draft, and President Havel had agreed with our proposals. To this, Laszlo Szigeti, member of the leadership of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence, who was present at the entire meeting, added that the two countries will form a joint commission, the task of which will be to examine the situation of Magyardom in Slovakia.

Apart from this, a minority committee is being formed alongside the Slovak parliament, and alongside the Slovak government there will be a body which deals with the language law. The Czechoslovak side promised the creation of a Magyar faculty [fakultas]. At the trilateral meeting this morning, President Havel himself asked: Are we able to give national minorities individual and collective rights? Are we able to erect a wall in front of nationalism, chauvinism? The president otherwise outlined his ideas in 10 points. He said he now sees a possibility for a uniform standpoint to be shaped on returning to Europe, in order that they should support, and not hamper, one another.

Matyas Szuros agreed with this, but his view was that there should be no going beyond the European frameworks. Therefore, there is no sense in taking a stand on the Third World or on China, as Vaclav Havel urged.

Polish President Jaruzelski, like a good soldier, said it is necessary to march together toward a common Europe. One of the guests, the Italian foreign minister, at his news conference called the meeting successful, although he noted that the Hungarians had raised generalities, but this is understandable after the elections.

From the delegation of those representing public opinion, Imre Pozsgay said in response to my question in the early afternoon that he will be genuinely satisfied if a joint statement is adopted on the nationalities situation. He then mentioned that there is a willingness for this on the Czechoslovak side. Ference Kulin, from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, called the Bratislava meeting a friendly conversation, which is the overture to a process which will prepare the economic, political, and cultural cooperation of the Central-East European countries. Mrs. Robert Jakab, representing the Slovaks in Hungary, told us that there can be no talk of suppression but rather of assimilation of the Slovaks in our country. It is necessary to try to wash out of our minds the perception that he who is different must be hated, that a foreigner is an enemy, Mrs. Robert Jakab said.

Bratislava Summit News Conference

LD0904190790

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1600 GMT on 9 April carries a 47-minute live relay from Knight's Hall of Bratislava Castle in Bratislava of the news conference by the foreign ministers of Poland, Krzysztof Skubiszewski; the CSFR, Jiri Dienstbier; Austria, Alois Mock; Italy, Gianni de Michelis; and the SFRY, Budimir Loncar. Lubos Dobrovsky, the CSFR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press secretary, opens the news conference by introducing the foreign ministers and says: "I would like to briefly inform you first of all about what you, of course, already know, and that is that a meeting of presidents and prime ministers of the governments of three countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—as well as the ministers of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria, has opened here today in Bratislava.

"The purposes of these talks is to specify foreign-political issues that are arising from the endeavor of the Central European and East European states to coordinate their course of acton in their joint endeavor to return to Europe. All the discussions, both in the plenum and the separate talks among the presidents, prime ministers, and ministers, as well as the representatives of political life within the three countries, have passed in a friendly and open atmosphere. Exchanges of views have taken place on a number of issues, such as on the issues concerning European security and European and regional cooperation. Participants in the discussions also pointed to various pitfalls inherent in the new situation, the problem of ethnic minorities and economic backwardness, among others. They also discussed proposals for new European security structures put forward by the Polish Government, or rather by its prime minister, Mr. Mazowiecki. They talked about the Czechoslovak proposal to set up a new European security commission. Questions connected with the possibility of establishing a Central European university have also been discussed.

"The participants in the meeting have agreed to soon set up a drafting group which will in the immediate future draft the text of a declaration on cooperation and a joint course of action among the countries of Central and East Europe.

"During the meeting of ministers, Minister Dienstbier briefed his partners in great detail about the state and the elaboration of the Czechoslovak initiative on the establishment of an European security commission. He underscored the closeness between this Czechoslovak initiative and the existing proposals for the institutionalization of the CSCE process, and above all, Mr. Mazowiecki's initiative.

"The ministers of foreign affairs appreciate the significance of the Czechoslovak initiative and voiced the conviction that the CSCE process represents at present the best alternative for the formation of a new European security system. It has been agreed to convene a meeting of a group of experts or deputy foreign ministers in Prague in June 1990, which would concern themselves with the preparation of the second Helsinki conference.

"The information given by the Italian minister of foreign affairs, Mr. de Michelis, about his government's resolve to work jointly and very concretely toward accelerating the integration of all East European countries into European communities, as well as the assurance that Italy will put forward proposals to consider the questions of indeptedness of Central European and East European countries made, among other things, an important contribution to the talks. The Czechoslovak proposal to set up a Central European university has also been the subject of discussions. That proposal has been discussed at all levels of today's talks, as well as during the plenum. The Czechoslovak side will convene within two months a meeting of a group of experts from the interested countries for the purpose of discussing this task.

"Close bilateral talks have also been held between the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, Mr. Vaclav Havel, and the president of the Hungarian Republic, Mr. Szuros. The basic subject of these talks was ethnic issues. Both presidents agreed on certain specific matters. They informed each other about various steps they have already undertaken in their respective countries to support the demands of ethnic minorities, as well as about other steps they are going to take to further assert and guarantee the rights of these ethnic minorities. They informed each other, or rather President Havel informed President Szuros, that we are striving to abolish those sections of the Kosice government program that are

unacceptable at this time and that do not provide an opportunity to assert all the rights of the ethnic minorities on Czechoslovak territory. It has been agreed to set up a commission of experts to begin to deal with the questions of ethnic minorities, their demands and rights, as well as the possibility of their realization, and the implementation and guarantee of these rights in the near future." After Dobrovsky concludes his statement, he invites questions.

The first question is for all the ministers and asks whether a Bratislava process has begun today similar to the Helsinki or European process. Alois Mock replies that the Bratislava process represents what would have been called a utopian situation earlier.

Loncar says that this new step is an illustration that geography cannot be changed but geopolicy can. Concrete ideas were also proposed, such as those of Mazowiecki and the Czechoslovak proposal for a commission on a new system of European security. The proposals differ but should be seen in a broad context. The most significant agreement was to look forward and think freely to overcome the division of Europe.

De Michelis says that states from two divided sides of Europe are meeting together here. Preparation for Helsinki II will be done by everyone in their place. Italy's participation here will help in the European process. The important thing is the return of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to Europe.

Skubiszewski says that the Bratislava conference strengthens the whole Helsinki process. The conference inaugurates the cooperation between the three states and begins their joint contribution to European unity. The states have certain regional problems. There is a need to reduce the role of the military in Europe, and the stand of these three states can be decisive for the Warsaw Pact. The cooperation between all six states represented here is a very significant event.

Dienstbier then says that the basic point of discussion was cooperation, which has now begun.

Polish journalist Andrzey Jagodinski of GAZETA WYBORSKA asks Skubiszewski: "What is the Polish delegation's attitude toward the concept of the Danube-Adriatic union? Does this concept not conflict with the close cooperation of Warsaw-Budapest-Prague?"

Skubiszewski replies: "I do not see any conflict here. Naturally, Poland does not belong to the Danube basin, but it has many relations with the states of this territory. As far as Czechoslovakia and Hungary are concerned in concrete terms, I have already said that our relations were, are, and will be close, although much still has to be adjusted within them. As far as other states are concerned, we have traditional and close relations with Austria. In very many areas we have very good cooperation with Yugoslavia, we have relations and a political dialogue with Italy. As far as economic relations are concerned, we could describe them as model ones."

A correspondent from Czechoslovak Television asks Skubiszewski whether he could give more details about the talks concerning the Baltic equivalent of the Adriatic group, and what concrete role Czechoslovakia could play at the meeting point.

Skubiszewski replies: "Poland and Sweden are the organizers of the Baltic conference. Both these states have recognized that there is room at this conference for Czechoslovakia as a state with which it is linked through various interests, not only in transport through the Baltic but also in other areas. We are of the opinion that those taking part in this conference need not only be states lying along the Baltic Sea. Czechoslovakia is a state for which the Baltic Sea has a great economic role, and, in my view, not only an economic one.

"Apart from this, Czechoslovakia to a certain extent lies between the North and South, and, what is more, our Polish interests lie in having close relations with Czechoslovakia. The fact that we are neighbors makes us natural partners. This is one of the very constant roles of Polish foreign policy, to extend relations with Czechoslovakia. An aside: Taking part in the Baltic conference could also be other states, for example, Norway, which in the geographic sense is not a Baltic state, because it has great interests.

"The Baltic conference, which should meet at the head-of-government level at the beginning of September this year, will consider a widely understood protection of the environment, ecological protection. But, according to the Polish intentions, perhaps it may occasionally extend to other areas of cooperation."

Dienstbier interjects: "I would just like to add what I have already said somewhere, sometime at a news conference, but I would like to repeat it here, that Czechoslovakia is interested in this cooperation. We are a Baltic country because we have a port in Szczecin, but we are also a Scandinavian country because we are among the largest pollutors of the air in Scandinavia. So cooperation in ecology and transport can be very useful for us."

A question in German is put to Dienstbier: Why is the Hungarian foreign minister not taking part? Dienstbier replies that the Hungarian delegation was short of time and he forgot to convey their apologies earlier. There is nothing more to it.

Dienstbier is then asked whether there are concrete agreements on mechanisms in Europe. Dienstbier says no, but there was an agreement on meeting again, when concrete agreements will be reached.

Czechoslovak radio poses a question to observers about Szuros' letter to Havel on the position of the Hungarian minority. Dobrovsky says this question was answered in the opening statement.

In answer to a question on whether new mechanisms of cooperation were agreed upon, and also whether there are efforts to set up people's participation in a European

parliament. Skubiszewski replies that the question is difficult to understand as the conference was between states and no precise structures have been formed yet. It will be taken into consideration in the future.

A question is then put in Slovak: "This is Czechoslovak Television. In the opening part of your meeting, President Havel asked 10 questions. I believe that to seek answers to them requires an enormous amount of time and work. This is why I do not want to expand on them, but permit me to ask one more. Your meeting also discussed possible political changes that could take place in the Soviet Union and that would naturally have an impact on what is currently going on in Europe, for, after all, the Soviet Union also forms a large part of Europe.

"[Dubrovsky, in Czech] To whom have you addressed this question? To all? I shall ask Mr Dienstbier to give his view first.

"[Dienstbier, in Czech] We did not basically discuss Soviet policy. There was no time. First we had to discuss issues concerning our own region. Naturally, we perhaps all agree, and this was also said in some speeches, that we all have an interest in the Soviet Union developing as far as possible toward democracy and plurality without disintegrating, peacefully, using peaceful means.

"[Mock, in German with superimposed Slovak translation] I had an impression that in general this conference demonstrated a great interest in the continuation of the policy of perestroyka. The policy of perestroyka is connected with a general acceptance [as heard] and led to the dividing line in Europe, as well as thinking in terms of blocs, in terms of change. The present EC is an attractive community and is no longer attacked. My country, for instance, would not have been able to apply for full community membership if it did not have good-neighborly relations. These two decisive factors, the joint acceptance by the Central European and East European countries determines the basic political positions, and the policy of perestroyka in effect brought about this great change; it made it possible. It also made it possible to take the first steps toward a new Europe, and today's meeting was the first such step.

"[Loncar, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Czech translation] I would like to say that this is a question which must be assessed in this way. When we were discussing the concrete situation both in Europe and the world at large, the situation in the Soviet Union was always mentioned. I think that we agreed unanimously that further development in the Soviet Union along the lines of perestroyka, democratization, the rights of all nations and minorities, equality, the strengthening of human freedoms, must constitute a part of the overall stability in European development; and all development in Europe must pay regard to the overall complication of the Soviet situation. We noted that these two processes are indivisible; that we all have an interest in the continuation of democratization as a whole in the European dimension, and in connection with this naturally also in the Soviet Union; and that a certain stability and balance of interests is a condition for such a development.

"[Dobrovsky] Minister Skubiszewski:

"[Skubiszewski, in Polish with superimposed Czech translation] Poland is a neighbor of the nation that is in the news today, Lithuania. Polish-Lithuanian relations are fundamental for us. We are concerned about good relations between Poles and Lithuanians. Poland is of the opinion that the principle of self-determination be realized by every nation, including self-determination that leads to statehood. At the same time Poland believes that such fundamental changes should take place within this part of Europe while a certain stability is preserved. If we do not preserve this stability then we will destroy the changes that have already taken place, and we will render impossible the changes that lie ahead of us and to which we are moving. In Polish foreign policy—and I believe not only Polish—in this area there is a binding principle of changes with stabilization. It is very difficult to link these two elements, but that is why we have politicians and diplomacy to attempt this.

"[Dobrovsky] Minister de Michelis:

"[De Michelis, in Italian with superimposed Czech translation] The very important fact is that the foreign ministers of countries which are so diversely placed as ours have found convergent points in the form of the language and stances as far as the present situation in the Soviet Union is concerned and the situation which we can expect to take place in the Union. That is this common point which is characterized by the will to proceed so that Europe continues along the road of change which has begun here, and that these changes are based on the longing for freedom, self- determination, democracy, and economic reform. No one has cast doubt on this here. At the same time it is important that we are convinced that in order for this process to continue successfully stability and gradual change are needed. It is necessary to find a way of placing these two things in harmony.

"The more specific contribution that we have made was the discussions about the significance of Helsinki II, the joint action. We talked about it from various viewpoints. This will be valid in future months also for the Soviet Union and in the future for what President Gorbachev is doing within the framework of perestroyka for the success of the process which we call Helsinki II. That is a process which also helps the Soviet Union from the outside so that the security of the past, which was based on equilibrium between two blocs, becomes the new European security of tomorrow on new common rules. If we are successful in helping, in inverted commas, Gorbachev in this direction—because only they, the citizens and the ruling circles in the Soviet Union, can help themselves from the inside, but this help can come from the outside—that means working very fast as these countries wish to do it, so that the process of Helsinki II,

the new conditions of security which will be valid for all including the Soviet Union, takes place as soon as this year." Dobrovsky then bring the news conference to a close and the live relay ends at 1647 GMT.

More on Bratislava Summit Meeting

LD0904221190 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Meeting '90 was the name of the meeting between the highest state representatives of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia in Bratislava. The foreign ministers of Austria, Italy, and Yugoslavia were observers. Our Bratislava colleagues bring the following from this significant meeting:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent, in Slovak] Do you think that this meeting is in its own way a sort of cornerstone? You speak about better times, not the return, but real progress forward as far as a new Europe is concerned, and our step into this new Europe.

[Dienstbier] I am convinced that this is so, that it is a meeting that brings us closer to it. Today Italian Foreign Minister de Michelis spoke about the fact that the group of 24 developed countries is preparing to cooperate with all states of Central and East Europe. Italy plays the role of a sort of go-between in this because it is a member of both the EC and the group of 24, and it can be a natural link between the community and these countries. We also agreed on Czechoslovak participation in what was four and is now five, to cooperate on very specific projects. We agreed on the creation of a Central European university, which would function approximately within the triangle of Bratislava-Vienna- Budapest, but also partly in Venice, Krakow, and possibly other places. I think that a vast number of cooperation projects are being outlined. But the aim is not, of course, some sort of local cooperation; the goal is true all-European integration.

[Correspondent] Many questions were on the theme: What about Hungary? Do you think the Hungarian approach is such at the present time that it will accept Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak diplomacy?

[Dienstbier] Well, I believe that the Hungarian approach is such. Naturally there is the problem that yesterday there were elections in Hungary and very soon we will be talking to different Hungarian representatives. But some of the future politicians were here as representatives of the public, and I believe that a consensus exists on the basic questions. Naturally, among all neighbors, and in every family there are constantly some arguments and conflicts about certain things.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, Mr. Minister.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English with superimposed Slovak translation] Mr. Mock [Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock], what are the basic problems which we should be solving together within the framework of a future Europe?

[Mock, in English with superimposed Slovak translation] First, it is necessary to complete the solution of the question of the Central European university. Mr. Dienstbier has already said that he has proposed the creation of a working group. This means that in the next six weeks specific questions connected with the creation of this institution will begin to be dealt with jointly. It is also necessary to solve the problem of the future structure of cooperation within the framework of the EEC. We met here for the first time in fact. So these are the two basic problems which we consider the most important.

[Correspondent] During today's talks it was heard that nationality problems are in fact global problems. Do you believe this, and how can Europe jointly solve this problem?

[Mock, in English with superimposed Slovak translation] If we look at the present political map of Europe and the problems of national minorities which live in individual countries, then I am convinced that stability and peace will depend on solving precisely this problem, which is the legacy of the past. I believe that here we need truly close cooperation marked by tolerance of and respect for one another. [end recording]

[Correspondent, in Slovak] At the news conference with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis we asked: Minister, do you think that new problems could arise in a future joint Europe, and if so, in what area would this be?

[Begin De Michelis recording in Italian with superimposed Slovak translation] I do not think that these will be problems between East and West as we have known them up to now. If some problems arise, then, in my view, it is more likely to be nationality questions of concern to individual European countries. [end recording]

PAP Summarizes Bratislava Summit

LD0904224290 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 9 Apr 90

[By PAP correspondents]

[Text] Bratislava, April 9—The leading politicians from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland met here today at the initiative of Vaclav Havel put forward during his Sejm (Poland's lower parliamentary house) address on January 25.

Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski, acting president of the Republic of Hungary Matyas Szuroes, and host of the meeting Vaclav Havel arrived at the Bratislava Castle. They were accompanied by premiers of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Miklos Nemeth and Marian Calfa respectively, and by

Ministers of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Gyula Horn and Jiri Dienstbier.

Present were also representatives of those political forces from the three countries which were conducive to the transformations in Central Europe. On the whole there were over 60 people attending the plenary debates, including the Foreign Ministers of Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia present as observers.

Havel's Address (Summary)

Vaclav Havel greeted the guests and then plenary talks attended by the whole delegations started.

The task facing Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks today is a return to Europe, President Havel said in his address. It must not be Europe divided into two military blocs. To think about the return means to think about a Europe of the future and to work out a schedule for common actions on the principle of consensus.

The president specified the problems in ten questions to which answers should be found sooner or later by participants in the meeting, as he said.

May Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary come closer to a stand which would define a common way of approaching the future of Europe, was one of the questions.

Another question concerned Poland in the context of the idea of a Danube-Adriatic union. Poles, Havel said, do not belong to that political and geographic region. Can a better alternative to such a concept be worked out?

Jaruzelski's Address (Summary)

The idea of the Bratislava meeting should be highly assessed, President Jaruzelski said. The exchange of views enhances chances to avoid threats posed by the process of reforms going on in this region of Europe.

The greatest threat is the alliance of populism with nationlism, and the gretest chance lies in a common seeking of a road, Jaruzelski observed. We must coordinate our efforts. The community of interests demands that we should overcome a standstill in the economic cooperation that has emerged recently.

Central Europe is now a hit of the political season, but when the fascination is over, we may remain isolated. We should not allow that. Here lies one of the fundamental reasons for the necessity of close cooperation in this part of Europe, the cooperation with a view to ensuring military security, but economic and ecological one as well. We must be a genuinely important, economically attractive, solid partner for the rest of the continent, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated.

At present Poland has a chance to model good relations both with its Eastern and Western neighbours. We all must be however aware o the complexity and sensitiveness of the situation in the USSR. We must make our today's talks serve both Union's president, Wojciech Jaruzelski said.

Mazowiecki's Address (Summary)

The return to Europe, which is a chance for all participants in the Bratislava meeting, must proceed along two tracks. The longer process will consist in joining the western economic structures and institutions, while mechanisms for stable cooperation should be formed more promptly, through the Council for European Cooperation, Premier Mazowiecki said.

Becoming a neighbour of a united Germany soon, the Polish Premier continued, we drive at full reconciliation with it. We want to find ourselves in the new situation without any ambiguity. We also think that a European Germany and not Europe with a German domination should be formed.

Poland fully supports the process of reforms going on in the Soviet Union and the aspirations voiced by the USSR nations. But we do not want the process of perestroyka to collapse, Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated.

There are justified fears of the revival of old antagonisms. Hence, another question should be added to those formulated today by Vaclav Havel, namely: Are we able to form an exemplary model for cooperation of our three countries?, the premier asked.

While aiming at friendship with Germany and the USSR, Poland attaches equal importance to good, friendly relations with its southern neighbours. Hence, there is an urgent need to intensify the system of permanent consultations of the ministers of foreign affairs, Premier Mazowiecki stated.

Working Teams' Meetings

Four working teams, namely of the presidents, the premiers, the foreign ministers and the invited representatives of social groupings, met in the afternoon and then another round of plenary talks was held.

Results of Bratislava Talks

A joint, short communique underlines that the meeting was held in a friendly, sincere, although inform atmosphere.

The exchange of views on the problem of European security, pan- European and regional cooperation proved fruitful.

Participants in the meeting pointed to the scale of the new situation, including the emerging problem of national minorities and economic underdevelopment.

Discussed were both Czechoslovak and Polish proposals on a new security structure in Europe as well as the questions pertaining to a foundation of a Central European university.

The meeting decided to set up an editorial group to work out a declaration on cooperation and common activity of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Press Conference

During a press conference called directly after the plenary talks, Minister Skubiszewski said in reply to a question that the important thing is cooperation of the three countries and a common contribution to the cause of European unity. He did not however rule out various approaches to the processes initiated in Helsinki and to their continuation.

Minister Skubiszewski stressed that both Czechoslovakia and Poland are interested in reducing military forces in Europe and a stand taken by the three countries may be decisive for a future role of the Warsaw Treaty.

Referring to the processes going on in the Soviet Union and their impact on the European relations, Krzysztof Skubiszewski said: Poland is a neighbour both of the USSR and Lithuania. She recognizes the right of each nation to sovereignty and formation of its own state. We think however that such important changes should be carried out with stability maintained.

Poland's President on Bratislava Meeting

Following the meeting Wojciech Jaruzelski told PAP:

The meeting was very useful and should be considered a good and purposeful initiative. We are glad about the convergence of numerous views, especially on directions of reforms and methods of their inclusion in the process of Europe's unification.

Presented were interested concepts indicating how particular elements may be used to build a peaceful European scene.

The fact that the ministers from Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia were present as observers proves that all divisions are disappearing, President Jaruzelski stated.

'Conflict,' 'Frictions' Between Prague, Budapest

AU1004090390 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Armin Wolf report on summit of Czechoslovak, Hungarian, and Polish leaders and the Austrian, Italian, and Yugoslav foreign ministers in Bratislava on 9 April]

[Text] One chair remained empty at the final conference of the six foreign ministers in Bratislava Castle: that of Hungary's Gyula Horn. The Hungarian delegation had left early for lack of time, the Prague foreign minister's spokesman told astonished journalists.

In reality, Horn's participation in the news conference, as well as in the final dinner of the six foreign ministers, was scheduled only a few hours previously. Horn did not leave for lack of time but because he was annoyed. The whole Hungarian delegation, including President Szuros, Premier Nemeth, and State Minister Pozsgay, left with him. In the course of the one-day discussion, conflict emerged between Prague and Budapest. What some participants in the closed session called a disagreement was regarded by others as an outright quarrel. The new foreign policy specialists from Prague had to learn that the diplomatic parquet is more slippery than they thought after their first successful steps on it.

The whole day was marked by rhetorical frictions between the delegations from Prague and Budapest. For example, the Hungarians wanted to deal with the problem of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and to adopt a corresponding communique. The Czechs, on the other hand, replied that this was a bilateral problem, while the summit was a multilateral one. It is now planned to discuss the minority question in an experts' group meeting of the two countries.

The Hungarians, for their part, rejected Vaclav Havel's proposal to adopt statements on the political situation in Tibet and China. This meeting was to deal with European affairs, Matyas Szuros snubbed his collegue from Prague.

The Hungarians were definitely annoyed with the Czechoslovak delegation when at around 1700 it presented a prepared three-page final communique and had it quickly translated orally for the other delegations. This was a diplomatic faux pas which diplomats from the guest countries cautiously called awkward. Normally communiques published after meetings between heads of state are worked out by diplomats weeks in advance. The fact that the delegation from Prague suddenly presented a communique without any previous warning surprised not only the Hungarians. The paper therefore was not adopted and at the final news conference; the spokesman of the Prague Foreign Ministry was only able to read out a list of the topics discussed.

Even though the five foreign ministers present outdid each other in positive assessments of the meeting, ranging from historic assessments to the belief that a true utopia had been created, one could clearly hear between the lines that while the meeting had been very interesting, there was hardly a topic on which agreement was reached.

For example, Vaclav Havel's proposal to establish a security commission of the 35 CSCE states only met with cautious interest, above all on the part of the Poles, who had made a similiar proposal recently.

A certain impatience on the part of the Hungarians, who want to get into the EC as soon as possible, was also apparent. Regarding a joint European course, Budapest

seems to have little interest in intensive cooperation with the other East European countries. The Hungarians believe that, above all, the Poles might be a handicap in the race to Brussels. Thus, the Hungarians are not very enthusiastic about having Poland in the ranks of the five countries that will meet for the next exchange of ideas in Vienna as early as in May. The original community of four—Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Hungary—has already become a community of five with the admission of Czechoslovakia. This is big enough for the Hungarians.

Therefore, the Bratislava summit did not pass without friction. Perhaps it was a little too spontaneous, Polish Premier Mazowiecki said with a smile before he got into his car to be driven home.

Pali Miska Concludes Visit to Egypt

AU3103133390 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA)—Pali Miska, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, wound up his official and friendly visit to Egypt and left for homeland.

In the course of his stay in Egypt, he visited various scientific centers of agriculture and livestock, arts and culture, and visited the city of Ismailia.

Before leaving this city, Comrade Pali Miska granted an interview to the press and radio television of Ismailia, Port Said, and Suez. He said: "It is a special pleasure for our delegation to visit Egypt. Everywhere we felt friendship and sentiments of respect the Egyptian people cherish for the Albanian people. In the meetings with President Hosni Mubarak; with the chairman of the People's Assembly, Dr. Refat al-Magoub; the foreign minister, Dr. Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid; the minister of agriculture, Dr. Yusuf Wali, and other personalities of Egypt, the stress was laid once again on the fact that the traditional ties between Albania and Egypt strengthen more and more and new roads of cooperation are opened to the development of relations to the common good, to the benefit of interests of our peoples, peace and understanding. All possibilities exist to develop a more intensive cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, and cultural fields. In our conversations with the Egyptian friends valuable opinions were exchanged and perspectives were opened to the cooperation in the field of agriculture and stock-raising between Albania and Egypt, the intensification of contacts between our parliaments, etc.

PLO's 'Arafat Receives Albanian Trade Unionists

AU0404114190 Tirana ATA in English 0803 GMT 4 Apr 90

[Text] Tirana, April 4 (ATA)—At the invitation of the General Federation of Palestine's Trade Unions, a delegation of the General Council of the TUA [Trade Unions of Albania] headed by Vjollca Kallajxhi, secretary of this council arrived in Tunis on a friendly and official visit.

On April 2, the head of the Palestinian state and of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Yasir 'Arafat, received the Albanian delegation and had a warm and friendly talk with it. He expressed his sincere thanks to the Albanian Government and people for the permanent help and support to the Palestinian people in the struggle for the realisation of their legitimate aspirations. 'Arafat assessed Albania's independent stand and the struggle and work of our people for the all-round development of the country, relying on our own efforts. He emphasized that "we know the glorious history of the Albanian people and evaluate your independent policy." During the talk, Yasir 'Arafat asked the head of the delegation to convey his cordial greetings to Comrade Ramiz Alia and the Albanian friendly people.

On this occasion the head of the Palestinian state gave a dinner in honour of the delegation of the TUA, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Likewise, on April 2 our delegation was received in separate meetings by the minister of foreign affairs of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qaddumi, and other senior Palestinian officials.

Leaders' Public Appearances 31 Mar-6 Apr

AU0704144690

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 31 March-6 April reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Rita Marko and Manush Myftiu, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo members, and Kico Mustaqi, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended the funeral of veteran communist Ramadan Citaku in Tirana on 6 April. (1800 GMT 6 Apr 90)

Muslims' Hunger Strikes Spread

AU0904122290 Sofia BTA in English 1145 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—"We Want Equality and Justice in Our Motherland Bulgaria" reads a big poster in the center of Shumen (a town in northeast Bulgaria). By decision of the local Operational Bureau of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, today at 9 o'clock a.m. a relay hunger strike was declared which will continue until the end of this week. Among other demands, the strikers insist that the homes of the people who travelled to Turkey which were sold or taken away should be returned to their owners; that they should be reinstated to their previous jobs; that all people who were sent to prison during the so called "revival process" should be released; they insist on doing national service in the Bulgarian People's Army on an equal footing with all other Bulgarian citizens and on being allowed to study Turkish at school. Hunger strikes with similar demands and of the same duration have been declared in other municipal centers in the Shumen area.

Representatives of the strikers had meetings with officials at the Municipal People's Councils where their concrete demands were discussed. There were meetings with the justice authorities, too.

Mladenov Holds 'Consultations' With Leaders

With BZNS Secretary

AU0904165890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Report on statement by Milan Drenchev, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, after his consultations with President Petur Mladenov on 9 April; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, Petur Mladenov's consultations with leaders of sociopolitical forces in our country continue. Following his meeting with Petur Mladenov, Milan Drenchev, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], points out the following:

[Drenchev] Three questions were pointed out during my talk with Petur Mladenov, the president or chairman of the republic: How should the Central Election Commission be organized, or, to put it more precisely, by whom should it be chaired?

Two personalities were proposed. I find both of them acceptable: One proposal was that Academician Blagovest Sendov should chair the commission, the second that Professor Zhivko Stalev should be the chairman. This question of which personality should be the chairman is not so important, in my opinion, but rather the composition of the commission counts. I am also not so interested in the number of members, but rather in the fact that all political movements should be represented in the commission so that its decisions may be accepted by our public. If not all public forces are represented it may always be presumed that there is some partiality. A Central Election Commission, however, should not give cause for such doubts.

The second question discussed is related to the organization of the presidential institutes. The question is: What offices should be established to assist the republic's president? Offices should be competent, operational, and capable of providing timely answers to the emerging political and economic questions. As a matter of fact, the republic's president needs advisers. However, they should be correct, competent, and should be aware that they are not serving some socialist party, or any party whatsoever, but only the state and the state administration. This is one of the questions that is not easy to resolve, but it is urgent.

[Announcer] This was Milan Drenchev, Nikola Petkov BZNS secretary.

Mladenov meets Dertliev

AU0904171690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Report on statement by Petur Dertliev, Bulgarian Social Democratic Party chairman, after his consultations with President Petur Mladenov on 9 April; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Petur Mladenov also held a talk with Dr. Petur Dertliev, Bulgarian Social Democratic Party chairman.

[Dertliev] The talk was held on the basis of [word indistinct], in accordance with the president of the republic's wish that it be as principled and civilized as possible.

The first question we discussed was the question of the commission's chairman. I expressed our preference for Professor Zhivko Stalev, on the grounds of his erudition, social prestige, and his capacity of being favorably accepted by the Bulgarian people. The other candidate is also very representative, but Stalev's specific qualities justify our preference for him in connection with this particular task.

The other question was related to the organization of the Presidency, to the work of the Presidency, and to the requirement for public forces to be involved in resolving the problems of this work and in expressing their opinions on the president's work.

The wish was expressed that with joint efforts we should guarantee an objective Presidency that is above parties, and which should not be involved in party matters but should be impartial. This should also make it possible for other countries to be more favorably disposed toward our people and toward the man who represents them.

considering him a real statesman. The republic's president should stand above party passions, he should keep out of party (?squabbles), as it is in all countries ruled by real democracy.

[Announcer] This was a statement by Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party chairman, after his meeting with Petur Mladenov.

Further on Consultations

AU0904171990 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—At consultations held today between President Petur Mladenov and the leaders of three political parties it was said that the president's institution should have an above-party character and should play a stabilizing role in the forthcoming elections.

After the consultations Milan Drenchev, secretary of BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] Nikola Petkov told journalists that he has proposed the president to come with a declaration in which all possible non-democratic events in the pre-election period and in the period of the elections should be condemned, to which Petur Mladenov responded with understanding.

Peter Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] declared himself for cultural and principled pre-election campaign. He said to him the creation of a strong Social Democratic Party was most important. It was high time that there were no more privileges in Bulgaria, that kinship and merits were not part of anybody's personal career, the BSDP leader added.

Peaceful and democratic elections are the only way out said Aleksandur Karakachanov, chairman of the Green Party and stressed that opinions on this issue are identical.

The participants discussed the proposals for two nominations for a chairman of the Central Election Commission: Distinguished Bulgarian scholars and public figures Prof Zhivko Stalev, jurist, non-party man, and academician Blagovest Sendov, mathematician, also non-party man. Milan Drenchev was the only one to express before journalists his preference for Prof Zhivko Stalev, without placing the other nominee's qualities under doubt.

Meeting on Electoral Commission

AU0904183590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Petur Mladenov held a working meeting with Bulgarian Socialist Party Chairman Aleksandur Lilov, Union of Democratic Forces Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev, and Viktor Vulkov, leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, at which the proposals for the composition of the Central Electoral Commission are expected to be specified. A presidential decree will be published on this question.

Political Talks Continue

AU0904202790 Sofia BTA in English 1931 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—The Bulgarian President Mr Petur Mladenov today continued his consultations with leaders of political parties and movements on the role of the presidential institution and the preparations for the forthcoming elections.

Round-up of opinion of participants in the consultations:

Mr Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the Fatherland Union: "The presidential institution should embody national concord. It should be a non-partisan institution. The Fatherland Union will back the candidates who will be put forward by the electorate itself in the constituencies. To get our support, the prospective MPs [members of parliament] should be highly competent professionals and keen patriots."

Mr Ahmed Dogan, president of the Rights and Freedoms Movement: "This country's democratization presupposes a presidential institution. The achievement of understanding and national concord will probably be the first step towards the assertion of the presidential institution.

"In the forthcoming elections our movement will nominate independent candidates. To qualify, they should support the rule of law and should serve as parliamentarian guarantors of a future Europeanization of Bulgaria.

"We would like our movement to be represented in the electoral commissions both because of high-running feelings and in order to seek a consensus among the different public forces."

Mr Dimitur Arnaudov, leader of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, expressed the readiness of the committee members and its supporters to contribute constructively to the election campaign and to the settlement of the ethnic issue.

The movement favors a strong president elected by popular vote.

Mr Boris Kyurkchiev, leader of the Democratic Party, expressed confidence in the presidential institution as a guarantee that the elections will be properly held. "The people should realize that there is genuine freedom, they should shed their fear so that we could present ourselves as a truly democratic state," he said.

Mrs Elka Konstantinova, leader of the Radical Democratic Party, said her party believes that all political forces should be secured equal terms for campaigning.

She said she fears the outbreak of conflicts during the elections. The members of the Radical Democratic Party concentrate on persuading the people to engage in a reasonable and peaceful election campaign.

Presidential Office Services Suspended

AU0904161690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] In connection with the reorganization of the services at the president of the republic's office, no citizens will be received, with the exception of appointments made in advance, and no petitions, complaints, and written proposals, submitted to the Presidency at the porter's office of the former State Council, will be accepted as of today until 20 April. On 20 April, the new services at the president of the republic's office are expected to begin their normal functions.

Zhelev Says Opposition 'Steadily Gaining'

AU0904172390 Sofia BTA in English 1643 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—"The thing that scares us most is that we'll come to power," the opposition leader Dr Zhelyu Zhelev quipped, answering a reporter's question at a news conference here today. He went on to say that the country's future leadership will have to solve extremely complicated problems which have been building up for years.

The opposition is steadily gaining in popularity, its leaders said. The soon-to-be-published results of a public opinion poll give the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] a 51 per cent approval rating. The SDS will run in the June 10 parliamentary elections on one platform and on a single ticket. The union (an umbrella organisation comprising six parties and 10 movements) is united and no split is possible at this stage, said the SDS spokesman Mr Georgi Spasov.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS, told the news conference that the opposition does not take a doctrinaire view of coalitions. "We would take part in a communist-dominated government if the improbable happens and they win the elections. If the SDS wins, it will probably not invite the now ruling party to a coalition," Dr Zhelev said. The opposition does not believe that the renamed ruling party has reformed in any appreciable measure.

Dr Zhelev and most of the union's other leaders will stand for parliament. The SDS will also put forward independent nominations, unassociated with its constituent organizations.

The SDS leaders do not rule out the possibility of the official Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) seeking the union's cooperation. The union does not oppose the unification of the BZNS and of the SDS-affiliated Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, provided that the united party remains within the union. Dr Zhelyu Zhelev believes that sooner or later the two agrarian parties will merge. The Nikola Petkov agrarians recently confirmed their intention to stay within the SDS.

Concerning the Rights and Freedoms Movement, which has a predominantly Muslim membership, Dr Zhelev said that the SDS opposes the formation of political organizations on an ethnic or a religious basis. The SDS has always upheld the human rights of the Bulgarian citizens who are ethnic Turks. Many of the organisations which now comprise the union were on the receiving end of pre-November 10 repressions because of that human rights campaign. That is why the SDS cannot accept the position of the movement led by Mr Ahmed Dogan which puts the opposition on the same footing as the Communist Party which brutally violated Muslim rights. The opposition has information that Muslims are discontented with the Rights and Freedoms Movement's attitude towards the Union of Democratic Forces.

Zhelev, Simeonov Discuss Election Campaign

AU0904193290 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—"Entertain friends, write letters, go from door to door, and explain to people what democracy is all about," Mr Petko Simeonov, president of the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs, called on members of the federation at a meeting held here this evening.

"If we don't have 200,000 canvasses, we'll ruin not just the elections, we'll ruin Bulgaria," Mr Simeonov said and called on intellectuals to vote for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] to which the federation is affiliated. The SDS goes into the election campaign with 100,000 leva, 60 U.S. dollars and 200 Deutsche marks but believes that "it will manage on 500,000-1,000,000 leva," according to Mr Simeonov who chairs the Central Electoral Club of the United Opposition.

The union counts on the presence of some 5,000 observers from all CSCE countries. The SDS has sent out invitations to parliaments, political parties, public figures and intellectuals in those countries. This will help convince the voters that the elections will be held "by secret ballot indeed", Mr Simeonov said.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, the SDS leader, said that the union's campaign strategy should impress the electorate with its confidence, stability, competence and professionalism. He stressed that the undecided voters, which he described as the "silent majority, will be the main target of canvassing. [no closing quotes as received] "We must convince the people that we can form a competent government," Dr Zhelev said.

The opposition leader accused the ruling party of trying to create an atmosphere of fear by pressuring and blackmailing the voters.

Dr
Zhelev said that "Sofia is on the side of the SDS" and that the union has strong influence in the other big cities but not in the small provincial towns and villages where the "local nomenklatura keeps manipulating the people."

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev said that the SDS has signed agreements on campaign cooperation "in a united coalition" with four opposition parties and with the Alternative Socialist Party, a break away from the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party.

Velchev Remembers 'Concentration Camp'

AU1004092890 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 14, 4 Apr 90 pp 8,9

["Conversation" with Boris Velchev, "chairman of the commission that proposed to close down the Lovech 'labor group'" by ANTENI reporter Nadezhda Kabakchieva; place and date not given: "Death Certificate--Mengele Style"]

[Excerpts] [Velchev] I was a political prisoner before 9 September 1944. However, I must say that we had much better conditions. We had rights to visits and to receive and write letters. In comparison with the Lovech "premises," our cells were more comfortable. The food was standard, but we had the right to receive packages with foodstuffs. The regime in Lovech really was cruel.

[Kabakchieva] In short—a concentration camp?

[Velchev] Yes, of the Stalin and Hitler kind. [passage omitted]

[Kabakchieva] Comrade Velchev, you said that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense were directly controlled by Todor Zhivkov. Did he know that there were such camps? Who issued the order to establish such camps?

[Velchev] Those questions are yet to be answered. At the time, we did not discover any written order or decision. [passage omitted]

[Kabakchieva] Many years have passed since then. Nevertheless, what is your most vivid memory?

[Velchev] It can be assumed that there were cases in which the cruel beating of prisoners was the main cause of death. Information related to some of those who died also raises similar doubts. While it is true that there is an official record for each case of death, no autopsy was ever conducted. This part of the information most strongly reminds one of Mengele. Broken bones and gangrene were concealed behind "innocent" causes such as diabetes and heart attack.... Moved as we are by the physical suffering of the people, we should also remember their great degradation....

Two facts in our history make me personally most ashamed—the execution of children near Yastrebino and the outrages against man in Lovech....

Lovech BSP Denounces 'Sinister' Camp

AU0904203490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] The members of the local Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] organization in the Lovech Municipality resolutely dissociate themselves from the illegal, arbitrary, and violent actions committed during the 1959-1962 period in the sinister camp near their town.

At an expanded meeting held tonight, the municipal BSP Council insisted that the military prosecutor's office should uncompromisingly and fully reveal the truth about the camp and most severely punish those responsible for the evil crimes.

In his statement, Ivan Paskalev, journalist from the local daily NARODEN GLAS who recently was the first to publish materials on the camp in the press, provided evidence consisting of new facts and testimonies about the regime of terror that caused the death of numerous people without trial and verdicts.

Plovdiv Citizens Demand Plant's Closure

AU0904182190 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Plovdiv, April 9 (BTA)—The people living near the Dimitur Blagoev Non-Ferrous Metal Works close to Plovdiv today issued a formal civil disobedience threat unless the government take the works out of business by April 16.

At a news conference here today the leaders of the Coordinating Council of the Ecological Protection Movement said they will not oppose the desire of the people to go to extremes in self-defence against that major industrial polluter.

The Coordinating Council did not specify the forms of civil disobedience but made it clear that they will be effective.

The non-ferrous metal plant issue has been debated at two sessions of the National Assembly since the beginning of the year. A parliamentary commission was set up to solve the problem, and it came up with a specific program which was approved by the National Assembly. Under pressure from the public, the issue was considered again at the latest parliament session. A new commission was appointed to monitor compliance with the program which foresaw action to halt further pollution of the area and to recultivate the contaminated land.

New Opposition Bloc Founded

AU0904125990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Apr 90 p 2

[BTA report: "Dual Opposition"]

[Text] A new opposition bloc—the United People's Union [Edinen Naroden Suyuz]—was founded on 6

April at the press center of the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. Nine parties and movements participate in the new bloc.

The declaration that was adopted points out that the members of the United People's Union do not recognize the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] as an efficient opposition, and that the agreements signed by the UDF do not reflect and do not defend the interests of all democratic forces in the country. The new bloc aims at creating a real opposition force in Bulgaria. The United People's Union will participate directly in the future democratic elections.

New BSP, UDF Regional Newspapers Founded

AU0904125590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Apr 90 p 2

[Nikolay Zhelev report: "Decision on New Newspapers"]

[Text] 7 April, Varna—On 7 April at its Sixth Conference, the municipal organization of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] discussed its election platform. It was decided to begin the publication of a weekly newspaper.

The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] also decided on publishing a paper of its own.

The two newspapers will have a circulation of 10,000 copies each and will appear in the second half of April. The means for their publication will be taken from the resources of VARNA—the weekly publication of NARODNO DELO.

Agrarian Party Council Adopts Declaration

AU0604203090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] At its session today, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] Administrative Council discussed the question of unification with the Nikola Petkov BZNS. The session participants adopted a declaration that states that the BZNS is ready to unite without delay with the Nikola Petkov BZNS on the following principled basis:

The BZNS irreversibly dissociates itself from the policies of the former Communist Party and declares that it will no longer stand in the shadow of any other political force.

The name of the united agrarian union will be the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United, and the name of its printed organ will be NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME [People's Agrarian Banner].

An honorary chairman of the BZNS-United is to be elected from among the members of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, while an acting chairman is to be elected from the BZNS.

The relationship of the members of all the leading BZNS—United bodies is to be proportional to the recorded memberships of the organizations that are uniting.

Agreement is expressed that the material and financial activities of the two organizations should be united and indivisible after their unification.

It is proposed that the BZNS-United should take part in the elections as an independent opposition political force, with its own orange-colored ballot paper.

The BZNS Administrative Council expresses the hope that the compromise viewpoints reached on the unification of the two fraternal organizations are an expression of the cherished aim of all allied agrarians who want to worthily fulfill their duty in building a modern democratic Bulgaria.

The BZNS Administrative Council adopted the union's election platform and also examined certain organizational matters. Five new members of the Permanent Board were accepted, and a decision was adopted on ceasing the activity of the oblast leaderships.

Agrarian Chairman Discusses Unification

AU0604205490 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 6 Apr 90

["Unification of the Two Agrarian Parties Again Postponed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 6 (BTA)—"The unification of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) with the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS) is again postponed till it becomes possible," said BZNS Chairman Viktor Vulkov. After a session of the BZNS Ruling Council Mr. Vulkov told reporters that no ideological and principled differences existed between the two agrarian parties, but that there were a series of obstacles along the road to unity.

In a declaration, the BZNS Ruling Council distances itself from the policy of the former Communist Party. The United Agrarian Party is suggested to be named Bulgarian Agrarian People's Party (United), while the party's printing organ is suggested to be called NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME.

The idea was put forward of electing an honorary chairman from the Nikola Petkov BZNS and acting chairman from the BZNS. The correlation of the members of the ruling bodies should be proportional to the two parties' membership.

Mr. Viktor Vulkov told reporters that the BZNS distanced itself in the election campaign from the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and from the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] due to the members' unwillingness to ally with any political force, and be "hooved" [as received] by any political association. "We'd like to be a centre party," he said.

The SDS is "the bone of contention" along the road to the unification of the two agrarian parties. The Nikola Petkov BZNS members say the unification should be coupled with the new party's automatic joining the opposition block.

The BZNS chairman refuted the allegations that his party's members are reoriented to the Nikola Petkov BZNS. "Now we number 145 thousand people and our membership is constantly on the rise, something the Nikola Petkov BZNS cannot boast of," he said.

The Ruling Council endorsed the election platform of the party and examined some organizational matters. The resignation of one member of the Standing Committee was accepted and five new Standing Committee members were elected.

Chairman Discusses National Interests Committee

AU0904085590 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Apr 90, BULGARIYA supplement, pp 1, 3

[Interview with Dimitur Arnaudov, Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests chairman, by unidentified OTECHESTVEN FRONT representative; place and date not given: "Position in Action"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Where, in your view, lies the strength of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests?

[Arnaudov] In any event, it does not lie in the interviews we give, nor in its team of leaders. First, this strength comes from the fact that our movement arose spontaneously and naturally, as a result of what we consider was a bureaucratic decision taken by the State Council and the Council of Ministers on 29 December 1989.

Second, our movement is a truly popular one, created from below as a result of specific circumstances. Third, it expresses the idea and will of a huge mass of people, which received support—through the events of January this year—from a number of settlements throughout the country. Fourth, its main aim is to defend national interests. Fifth, its strength lies in its future as a united supraparty political center of all the political forces that place our national interests above narrow party interests.

I could add a number of other things to this list, but I will follow Voltaire's advice—I do not want to say everything that I know, in order not to be boring.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] As a participant in the national roundtable, in whom do you have the greater faith, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] or the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]?

[Arnaudov] An intricate question, especially when one is aware that faith is the acknowledgement of a certain truth, without any proof being available. Accordingly, I would rather use the concept of confidence, and frame the question thus: Which of the two main political forces has ideas that inspire you with confidence in their truth, or, if I have understood your question correctly, with whom do you stand?

In principle, confidence also produces self-confidence, and this quality is possessed by the BCP, even in excess. I would even add a sense of infallibility with regard to the way in which their delegation interprets the process of democratization, that is, "the higher interests of democracy." I consider that they are often carried away in relation to political common sense and the accurate assessment of the situation in the country, especially concerning the nationality issue. The Supreme Party Council has apparently still not realized the dangers, which may lead to acute social tension, that arise from the incorrect behavior displayed in their political dialogue with us. Being aware of their political strength, which is still very real, the BCP leaders are attempting to dictate premises and assessments that are contrary to political reason.

The UDF is a conglomeration of parties and movements that are politically united by the idea of dismantling the totalitarian system. I fear that their political ambition may transcend the limits of the admissible and extend to the dismantling of the state. I believe in their desire to change the political system, but I do not believe that they have selected the best means for this. They lack sober ideas about the nationality issue, or at least have yet to show signs of having any. I cannot say that their leaders are less Bulgarian than I am, but I would not want to reach the opinion about them that the Jesuit rule of the end justifying the means represents their political credo.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Should it be considered that the formation of the "Bulgaria" Association is a tactical move by the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests?

[Arnaudov] The recognition of tactics is also an admission of a role and place in the country's political life. A sociopolitical organization that has been in existence for barely three months now has to build its political foundations. The fact that the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests is striving to unite the entire Bulgarian nation around the ideas of confirming and defending national values and interests in all spheres of public life is a proof of its readiness to conduct an open dialogue and cooperate with all the public forces that are working and will work to build the kind of Bulgaria that we want.

The association is organizing Bulgarian citizens in order to guarantee that the nationality issue and national values, interests, and ideals will not be determined by narrow party interests, but only by the interests of the Bulgarian nation and state. The association's main style of work consists in conducting free nationwide polls and organizing a public civic parliament on the priority problems relating to the defense of Bulgaria's national interests: the political system, ownership, nationality policy, national security, development of civic society,

education, health care, the intellectual and moral development of the civic society, a way of life conforming to nature's demands, the Bulgarian countryside, ecology, the birthrate, the problems of the modern Bulgarian family, and so forth. It is a civic public union organized on federative principles. [passage omitted]

Kintex Chief Notes Firm's Activities

AU0904103790 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 4 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Ivan Damyanov, Kintex Foreign Trade Organization general director, by Simon Danveski; place and date not given: "Kintex—An Illusion of Mystery"]

[Text] Kintex—there is hardly a Bulgarian who does not know, or at least has not heard of the activities of this Bulgarian foreign trade organization. However, just in case I, made a lightning journalistic survey, asking a single question: "What is Kintex and what are its activities?" From the 20 people I asked, I received only one wrong answer. The others said correctly that it is an organization that engages in the arms trade.

Accordingly, I told Ivan Damyanov, general director of the enterprise: "Your organization exports arms and there is hardly a Bulgarian who is not aware of this."

"Quite correct," the businessman replied. "People know about us not only in Bulgaria, but also throughout Europe and in other continents. We maintain contacts with more than 50 countries and, of course, not only through the export of small arms and ammunition."

[Danevski] Are you persecuted for this activity?

[Damyanov] For which activity, for the export of arms? No one persecutes us anywhere for this activity. We deal with something in which dozens of other countries are engaged throughout the world. Who does not trade today in the arms that he produces?

Thus, the myth about the mysteriousness of this trade organization also gradually disappears. In fact there really exists a measure of mystery. Until recently, it was difficult to enter the building made entirely of metal and glass, with smoke-tinted windows. It was simply not done to write about an enterprise that engages in such activity. However, the processes of improving relations between peoples and the ensuing conversion of military industry to civil production, also removed the activity of Kintex, so to speak, from the secrets list. Now, one can indeed say anything, but does the curious reader really know everything about the large American company of Martin Marietta, which performed its work well in arms production and trading, not merely in small arms, but also in somewhat "heavier" weapons? Someone might object by saying: "Will we measure ourselves yet again against the Americans; aren't we aiming a bit too high?" I would retort that no one has defined how high we should aim and, since this is so, let everyone concern himself with his own job, especially when the country gains benefit from it.

"As a Warsaw Pact member country, Bulgaria mainly exports arms to certain developing countries and national liberation movements that expect this support," Ivan Damyanov said. "However, I would immediately like to add that this was not done without payment. Quite the reverse, our clients have always settled their debts very properly, and therefore our work was highly efficient —for us one lev is equal to one dollar. Unfortunately, this is only true for us."

[Danevski] Is it true that payment was also made in narcotics?

[Damyanov] No, there is no truth in this. This red herring was put into circulation by the U.S. READERS' DIGEST magazine seven years ago in an article that has now appeared in an opposition daily. Do you think that if this was true, we could have hidden ourselves for so many years while the fierce fight against the drug Mafia was going on? This "Bulgarian connection" was also clumsily utilized in the trial of Antonov and in his alleged participation in the plot against the pope. They also involved us and certain other Bulgarian organizations. Kintex has never engaged in the narcotics trade. Our opponents, who very much wanted to discredit us, are unable to prove this.

[Danevski] Ivan Damyanov's words are well-founded. So many varied accusations have been leveled against us, and now, when we ourselves want to establish even closer links with the world organizations fighting narcotics trafficking, it is simply incredible for us to be involved in it.... However, there are no compromises in the struggle against strong competitors.

The Bulgarian military industry is gradually cutting its production. This means that Kintex will also reduce its arms exports. What will happen then?

[Damyanov] We have not only been dealing in arms exports. Quite the opposite, this activity constituted only part of our activity, although not a small part. Now this arms export business will decrease by one-half, to be replaced by the export of various engineering products, mainly machine tools, grinding tools, electronics equipment, and other machinery. This is where the future lies for Kintex—participation in the conversion of the Bulgarian defense industry.

[Danevski] The Kintex trading enterprise is established in the international market as a good trading partner. It employs experienced specialists and traders with much knowledge and many business contacts. This will be beneficial for our future, all the more when we want to direct our attention toward the West. For this reason, the traders of Kintex will assist us in this aim, namely the

people who allegedly worked in secrecy, although it turned out that almost everyone knows about the essence of their work.

[Damyanov] People in world business circles do not look askance at people who are engaged in this activity. Again, we have to be aware that no one will give us a free meal, especially now, with the efforts being made to strengthen our economy. In the West such gestures are unknown, and it should be so....

[Danevski] Let us believe Ivan Damyanov's words, all the more because so far we have found no grounds to doubt them. As far as the mystery of Kintex is concerned, it has, by and large, turned out to be an illusion.

Agreement on Political Parties Noted

AU0304140490 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 31 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

["Agreement on the Basic Ideas and Principles of the Draft Law on Political Parties" adopted at the national roundtable talks in Sofia on 30 March]

[Text] The participants in the national roundtable reached an agreement on the basic ideas and principles of the draft law on political parties that is expected to be discussed and adopted at the forthcoming National Assembly session. The common conviction is that the future law should guarantee prerequisites for the development and consolidation of political pluralism in our country.

In accordance with the agreement on the political system, the participants in the roundtable talks agreed on the following basic principles that will be reflected in the law on political parties:

1. The citizens' constitutional right of freely joining political parties will be guaranteed. Membership, or nonmembership in a given party and the interruption of membership will not be a reason for either special privileges, or discrimination related to the citizens' rights.
2. Political parties will be inscribed in a special register with the Sofia City Court of Justice, according to a simplified procedure. A seven-day deadline will be envisioned for the publication of the decision on the registration of a given political party in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.
3. The political parties will exercise their activities within the framework of the country's Constitution and laws, and in accordance with their own statutes and programmatic goals.
4. Equal rights of participating in political life will be guaranteed for all parties.
—The state will cooperate in providing the parties with premises and other facilities, which are required for their activities under equal conditions and according to the same procedures.
—Every party is entitled to its own printed publications and is authorized to publish.
—The parties are entitled to have free access to the state-owned mass media on questions related to their activities.
5. For the purpose of guaranteeing a peaceful development of the democratic process, the law will provide for banning political parties for the the following reasons:
—Parties whose activities are aimed at violating the country's constitutional order, at violating its sovereigny and territorial integrity, at fanning racial, nationality, and ethnic, or religious enmity, and at violations of civil rights will be banned.
—The ban applies to parties trying to achieve their goals through violence or by any other illegal methods.
—The ban applies to the establishment of parties based on ethnic or religious principles.
—The ban applies to militarized or underground party formations.
—The ban applies to the establishment of children's and youth organizations attached to political parties enrolling children under the age of 16.
—The ban applies to the parties' interference in the activities of state bodies and institutions, the Army, the militia, and security forces, economic organizations, state-owned mass media, health protection, creative unions, religious organizations, scientific, and educational institutions.
—The ban applies to the establishment of the parties' organizational structures in workplaces.
—The ban applies to the organized political parties' activities in workplaces and to activities of other organizations and movements—such as trade unions, social movements, societies, and others—in workplaces. Rallies, demonstrations, party meetings, and all other forms of political agitation in support of political parties or election candidates are defined as political activities.

The act of informing the conscripts serving in the Army on the election platforms of candidates for the National Assembly elections, and the procedure under which they will be entitled to vote, will be determined in the National Assembly Election Law while equal conditions and an established procedure under the control of the election commissions will be provided.

6. The law on political parties will settle the question of the sources of income and the means for the parties' financial support, the possibilities of financing them from the state budget, and the implementation of economic activities related to their goals deetermined by their statutes. The law will provide conditions and settle the procedure for obtaining resources from the state budget to cover the election expenditures.
7. The financing of political parties by foreign states through their bodies, institutions, and organizations under any forms or circumstances whatsoever will be banned. Political parties are not entitled to any financial resources and other sources of income provided by foreign organizations with economic, or other goals, and the same applies to anonymous sources of income. The opportunity will be provided for foreign citizens to make individual or collective donations to the benefit of

Bulgarian political parties amounting to a maximum of $500 in the case of individual donations and up to $2,000 in the case of collective donations.

Political parties are not entitled to financial resources from state organs and institutions, or from economic enterprises.

Financial resources obtained through the banned methods will be confiscated for the state.

As a provisional measure, the additional regulations of the law will provide the opportunity for political parties to accept donations from foreign organizations on a nonprofit basis, in the form of technical equipment and materials, or in the form of the equivalent amount, required for their specific activities, within the limit of one year from the date of the law's enactment. If the donations are provided in the form of financial resources, they will be transferred according to the effective currency account to the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank in the name of the respective party.

The control over the legality of obtaining sources of income and related to the management of the parties' property will be exercised by a permanently acting parliamentary-public organ attached to the National Assembly. The parties are expected to submit an annual report at the end of March to the experts' commission on the amount and sources of their income and on their expenditures during the period under review, which will be published by DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. This accountability report will be submitted also no later than two weeks before the day of the National Assembly elections.

Special alleviations will be provided for the parties related to taxes on their property.

The newly elected National Assembly is entitled to revise the regulations related to regulations on the financing of political parties.

8. The political parties are entitled to form other organizations and movements within the framework of the Constitution and the laws. When organizations and movements that are not parties express the intention of participating in National Assembly elections and for other elective offices with their own candidates, or to participate in election coalitions for National Assembly elections, they will register according to the rules envisioned for political parties and in accordance with the regulations applying to the law on political parties. Public organizations and movements are not entitled to be collective members of political parties.

As to other organizations and movements that are pursuing political goals, expressly manifested in their statutes and programs, the bans and requirements envisioned under items 5 and 7, and the rights provided in item 4 of the present agreement will be applied to them.

9. Conditions and procedures for eliminating political parties, including the possibilty of their disbanding by the Supreme Court in case their activities should apply to the bans specified in the agreement will be envisioned.

Semerdzhiev on Interior Ministry Shake-up

PM0904143490 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 26 Mar 90 p 11

[Interview with Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev by Ricardo Estarriol in Sofia; date not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] [Estarriol] What was the Armed Forces' role in the political change of 10 November last year?

[Semerdzhiev] I'm afraid I must disappoint you: The information I'm going to give you will surely not be what you are expecting, particularly with regard to the Armed Forces' role.

[Estarriol] You know best...

[Semerdzhiev] The change was not devoid of tension and there was an element of drama, but the entire process took place within the framework of the Communist Party's regulations and the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In particular, we must acknowledge the part played by the current president, Petar Mladenov, by Andrey Lukanov, by Dobri Dzhurov, and by other political figures who had the strength, the will, the courage, and the integrity to resolutely oppose the former authoritarian leadership of the personal regime of Todor Zhivkov and his circle. The November events wre actually a response to the efforts of hundreds of thousands of Communists and virtually the entire Bulgarian people.

[Estarriol] What have been the consequences of the change for your ministry?

[Semerdzhiev] The ministry's leadership has analyzed the activities of its bodies very closely. But the conclusions cannot be all lumped together because we must acknowledge that there have been many positive aspects to the ministry's activity. At the same time, it must be admitted that this ministry was, and could not fail to be, part of the former administrative command system. Indeed, the ministry was given tasks that considerably exceed the functions assigned to it by the Constitution. But now I am pleased to be able to tell you that the traditional state security structures no longer exist...

[Estarriol] What does this mean?

[Semerdzhiev] Just as I say: They have been totally abolished. The former espionage bodies have been separated from the ministry and investigation activities have been reorganized in the form of a national service that has been placed directly under the head of state.

The former Security and Protection Administration (UBO)—a typical organ of the nomenklatura—has been totally abolished. In its place, we have created a Security Service for the State Council chairman, the Council of

Ministers chairman, the chairman of parliament, and guests on official visits to our country. This new service is also directly under the head of state. The State Security body has also disappeared, and in its place we have created a national service for the protection of the Constitution and democracy, answerable to the Interior Ministry.

[Estarriol] Is this service equivalent to other countries' secret or political police—for instance, the FRG's so-called "Verfassungsschutz" (defense of the constitution) service?

[Semerdzhiev] Yes. We have indeed followed the FRG's model. Other services that were formerly part of our ministry have been taken over by the Defense Ministry. But, of course, the national police and firefighters are still under our ministry.

[Estarriol] Are the national and criminal police part of the same body in Bulgaria?

[Semerdzhiev] The People's Militia comprises the criminal police, the economic crimes investigation police, and the social order protection police (Struktura za Okhrana na Obshtestveniya Red.)

[Estarriol] How do you view the functions of the new bodies under the conditions of a pluralist society?

[Semerdzhiev] Our task is still to guarantee security, but we believe that the ministry's job now is to facilitate the transition from an authoritarian regime to a pluralistic and genuinely democratic system—peacefully and with no violence of any kind. It is possible that in the elections the Communist Party will win three-fourths, one-half, or one-fourth of the seats in the new parliament. Well, our task will to be to ensure that the process toward a pluralistic system takes place in accordance with the ideals of human dignity and that everything happens democratically and without excesses. We are willing to reach agreements to avert violence.

[Estarriol] Even on the ethnic question?

[Semerdzhiev] True, we do have ethnic problems in our country. In this connection, we want to be a factor of stability, shouldering the duty to help surmount the confrontation. In the event of a confrontation occurring, our ministry's organs would confine themselves to performing between the two sides the role entrusted to UN armed forces in instances of serious international conflicts.

[Estarriol] Let us suppose that a critical situation is reached in Bulgaria: The Communist Party and opposition groups cannot reach agreement, the people become restless, food is in short supply... Could you imagine that in such a situation the Armed Forces would provisionally take power?

[Semerdzhiev] There is no real basis for such a hypothesis in our country. Furthermore, I can tell you that my colleague, Defense Minister General Dobri Dzhurov, the Armed Forces command, tand he Interior Ministry leadership are all opposed to the use of force and violence.

[Estarriol] You have eliminated the old structures from your ministry. What has happened to the people that worked within them, those whom you call "cadres?"

[Semerdzhiev] The reorganization of the former State Security has led to considerable reductions of personnel.

[Estarriol] Which departments have been transferred from the Interior to the Defense Ministry?

[Semerdzhiev] Mainly counterespionage work.

[Estarriol] Does this mean that the Bulgarian Defense Ministry had no counterespionage service?

[Semerdzhiev] No, not counterespionage. We only had an intelligence service in the Defense Ministry.

[Estarriol] What has happened to the antiterrorist struggle units?

[Semerdzhiev] They are still under our ministry. I would point out that although there is much talk about them, they are a very small body—a total of 130 agents and 17 officers. They are known as the "Red Berets."

[Estarriol] Nevertheless, the Interior Ministry's armed forces have been reduced.

[Semerdzhiev] Yes, indeed. And I'll tell you something else, too: Under the new law, part of the National Police will now be answerable to the municipal authorities.

[Estarriol] What has happened to the people whom I and my Western colleagues used to encounter in Bulgaria in the past? I am talking about the people who hindered our work, tapped our phones, and tailed us. What has happened to them?

[Semerdzhiev] This service, the so-called "Sixth Administration," has been abolished. But I must make this point: The "Sixth Administration" was created many years ago, during the harshest period of the cold war, with specific tasks mainly directed externally. Unfortunately, after 1984, that is, after the so-called "national rebirth" period, the service became involved in other matters.

This is one of the typical cases in which improper functions were assigned to Interior Ministry services. When informal organizations began to emerge the administration was obliged to concern itself with them. But at the same time I must tell you that the officials of other departments of the "Sixth Administration" carried out, with a great sense of responsibility, positive actions such as the struggle against terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, and the illegal export of the nation's artistic heritage. In 1984 they were used in Muslim-populated areas and made responsible for surveillance of meetings with representatives of this population.

[Estarriol] Can an official of your ministry listen in to a telephone conversation without the permission of a judge?

[Semerdzhiev] No. Article 51 of the Constitution and Article 139 of the Penal Code forbid it. Previously, yes, it was possible. Now, as in any other country in the world, this is only permitted in instances in which national security is under threat—and only in accordance with the laws.

[Estarriol] Does this mean that the many listening establishments that used to exist have been demolished? Where are they now?

[Semerdzhiev] I must tell you that your question seems rather like that of a professional...

[Estarriol] No, general, it is, rather, the question of a victim of "professionals..." One final question: You have been Bulgaria's chief of staff since 1962. How do you now judge the August 1868 military intervention in Czechoslovakia?

[Semerdzhiev] Briefly, it was an unjustified action. I fear that, through the intervention of foreign troops in Czechoslovakia, other countries terminated there a process that the Czechoslovak people desired. Is that enough for you?

Currency Balance Improves; Production Falls

AU1004114490 Sofia BTA in English 0931 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—In the January-March period the cuts in the convertible currency state expenditure improved Bulgaria's unfavourable balance by 153 million currency leva compared with the same period last year.

This announcement is made in the DUMA paper which quotes official sources. The paper writes that the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank received 713 million currency leva less compared with 1989, but despite this fact, the country's unfavourable currency balance was improved through practising economy.

DUMA informs that from January to March the production in the country dropped by nine per cent compared to the same period of 1989. According to DUMA this is the result of not marketing part of the production, of accidents and strikes mainly at the enterprises of mechanical engineering, the chemical and the oil-processing industry, metal working and the food industry.

Over the 1985-1989 period Bulgaria's foreign debt increased by six milliard dollars, DUMA writes. The main causes for the decrease of the country's currency receipts in this period are the drop in the prices of petroleum products and the restrictions imposed on the trade in weapons all over the world, the paper says.

Employers, Unions Form Consultative Commission

AU0504195990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Apr 90

[Text] In accordance with the General Agreement of 15 March reached between the government, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, and the National Alliance of Economic Leaders, a National Commission for Coordination of Interests [natsionalna komisiya za suglasuvane na interesite] has been formed.

This commission, in which the three parties are taking part upon an equal basis, has already started its work. Other national organizations of trade unions and employers may also participate in the commission, after they have joined in signing the General Agreement.

The National Commission for Coordination of Interests, in accordance with the adopted rules, has the aim of helping in expanding the development of dialogue, contracts, accords, and collective agreements, in order to achieve mutually acceptable decisions on problems of national importance in the sphere of labor relations, social security, and living standards.

It will also agree to actions in fulfillment of the General Agreement, and will adopt measures to overcome problems that arise. It will draft views concerning revisions, alterations, and additions to the agreement.

In addition, the commission will draw up and put forward agreed viewpoints regarding the settling of labor disputes and conflicts of national significance.

The national commission is chaired (?on a rotating basis) by Professor Nora Ananieva, Council of Ministers deputy minister; Svetoslav Stavrev, deputy chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions; and Stoyan Kadiev, deputy chairman of the National Alliance of Economic Leaders.

At its session held today, the commission agreed and signed the general regulations for concluding collective labor contracts and agreements during 1990.

Agreement Signed With USSR Writers Unions

AU0904125390 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Apr 90 p 1

[Excerpt] On 28 March in Moscow, Vladimir Karpov, USSR Union of Writers representative; Kolyo Georgiev, Bulgarian Union of Writers chairman; and Nayden Vulchev, Bulgarian Union of Translators chairman signed an agreement on cooperation between the three creative unions for 1990. [passage omitted]

Dienstbier: Blocs Retention Needed for Security

PM0904152790 Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Mar 90 p 32

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Ignacio Vidal Folch in Prague; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] [Vidal] What kind of relations does democratic Czechoslovakia wish to establish with the other countries of East and Central Europe?

[Dienstbier] In view of current circumstances and the futility of our foreign policy over the past 20 years, it would appear that we are moving closer to the West, but that is an oversimplified picture of the policy I wish to implement. When I speak of the "return to Europe"—a phrase which figures as a slogan in the Civic Forum's election program—I am also referring to the need to create a balance throughout the continent. This is impossible without taking into account our Eastern neighbors—not only Poland and Hungary but also the USSR. As it has demonstrated with the idea of the European common home, the Soviet Union is trying to effect this entry into Europe. This plan is complex and difficult, but it seems to me the most worthwhile plan that we could devise.

[Vidal] Why do you repeatedly declare yourself opposed to neutrality for a reunified Germany?

[Dienstbier] I have said that neutrality for Germany seems to me the worst of the possible solutions. Like Lithuania, that country is fully entitled to self-determination, and we will raise no objection to it. It is also true that the dynamic of the new situation in Europe speaks eloquently against the current security system, based on the balance between the two blocs, which is rapidly becoming obsolete. Our government believes that the current status quo of the continental balance should be replaced by a pluralist model, but calling for the dissolution of the blocs is not on our agenda. Today they still constitute a system which facilitates the process of disarmament and continental security.

Slovakia Poll Reveals KDH, Cic's Strength

AU1004093890 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 4 Apr 90 p 1

["c"-signed report: "What Are the Chances for Whom?"]

[Text] During the period from 10 to 20 March this year, the Institute of Public Opinion Research at the Slovak Statistical Office polled citizens of the Slovak Republic between 18 and 69 years old (number of polled citizens—1,286). The topic of the poll was relevant current political problems. One of the goals of the inquiry was to map the election chances of individual political parties and movements seeking public support in the upcoming elections.

The majority of potential voters would vote for the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Party of Christian Democracy [SKD]—they would receive 18.1 percent, of which KDH would have 12.7 percent, while the SKD would obtain 5.4 percent. The Communist Party of Slovakia would be the choice of 13.3 percent of those polled, the Public Against Violence movement would win 12.2 percent of votes, the Green Party would receive 11 percent, the Democratic Party would be voted for by 8.4 percent, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party by 3.3 percent, and the Social Democratic Party by 2.4 percent of those citizens polled. None of the other political parties managed to attract even two percent of the total sample.

The results indicate that, of the present Slovak politicians, Milan Cic, Slovak premier of the government of national understanding, enjoys the greatest trust. He was named by 41 percent of those polled. He is followed by Alexander Dubcek with 40 percent, Marian Calfa with 34 percent, Rudolf Schuster with 18, Jan Budaj with 17, Jan Carnogursky with 14, Vladimir Meciar with 5, Milan Knazko with 5, Peter Weiss with 4, Ladislav Kovac with 2, Jozef Markus with 1, and Ladislav Kosta with 1 percent. Three percent of the polled citizens did not trust any of the active Slovak politicians.

Agrarian Parties, Movements Electoral Alliance

AU0604094890 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Mar p 1

["zn"-signed report: "Electoral Coalition of Agrarians and Countryside Realized"]

[Excerpts] Prague— Yesterday, representatives of agricultural parties and movements met in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY's editorial office to express their final opinion on the formation of a common electoral alliance.

The course of the meeting showed that the lengthy intraparty discussions and mutual consultations that have repeatedly been taking place in our editorial office were not in vain. On the basis of such talks, the Alliance of Agrarians and Countryside [Spojenectvi zemedelcu a venkova] was formed. It has been joined by the Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives, the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, the Party of the Moravian Countryside, and the Republican Party of Czechoslovak Countryside. Representatives of the parties and movements then formed a program and press commission, a commission to create (propose) a list of candidates, and an economic commission, and they approved a common statement. [passage omitted] In conclusion, the representatives decided that the Alliance of Agrarians and Countryside is, for the time being, an alliance open to other previously hesitant parties or movements, should they identify themselves with the adopted statement.

Women's Movement Joins Agrarian Alliance

AU0604130990 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Apr 90 p 1

["dap"-signed report: "Women Join With 'Countryside'"]

[Text] Prague—On Monday [2 April], the Equal Status for Women's Movement in Bohemia and Moravia [Hnuti za rovnopravne postaveni zen v Cechach a na Morave] entered into an agreement with the Alliance of Agrarians and Countryside on a common course of action in the election campaign for the elections to the highest representative bodies. This means that the joint list of candidates will contain, next to the representatives of this women's movement, members of the Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, the Party of Moravian Countryside, the Republican Party of the Czechoslovak Countryside, the Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives, the Czechoslovak Party of Integration, the Senior Citizens' Movement for Social Security, and the Countrywide Citizens' Caucus [Celostatni aktiv obcanu]. Therefore, the alliance thus formed will represent the interests of the countryside as well as those of the agrarians, and the justified demands of women, retired citizens, and handicapped people. The Equal Status for Women Movement has already submitted a list of its candidates, none of whom are members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Bohemia-Moravia Peace Union Forms

LD0804021390 Prague CTK in Engish 1430 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 7 (CTK)—"The Peace Union of Bohemia and Moravia [Mirova unie Cech a Moravy] is a voluntary, independent movement of Czech republic citizens associated in the name of the ideals of humanism in support of peace, human rights, civil freedoms, social justice and healthy environment," a program statement of the union, the constituent assembly of which was held here Saturday, said.

The aim of the organisation is a world free of nuclear and other arms of mass destruction, the entire national, political and economic independence in the spirit of building a common European home.

The union intends to apply consistently the democratic principles and in harmony with the U.N. documents to respect human rights and civil freedoms.

In the field of international issues the union will strive for the adoption of measures aimed at disarmament, a ban on nuclear and chemical weapons, their total liquidation, radical reduction of conventional forces in Europe and the whole world.

It will exert efforts to reach dissolution of military blocs, removal of foreign bases on other states' territories and reduction of military budgets.

The constituent assembly was attended inter alia by Czechoslovakia's former foreign minister Professor Jiri Hajek (April-September 1968) who has beocme an honorary member of the union.

Miller Outlines 'Social Strategy'

Part 1

AU0504134590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Mar 90 p 3

[Marta Csontosova report: "What Will Minister P. Miller Present to Federal Government for Approval?: Social Strategy Proposal"]

[Text] On Tuesday [27 March], Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs, appeared before the parliament with an extensive social strategy program for the period of transition to the market economy. It is the program which he intends to submit for assessment to the federal government by the first half of April. The verbatim transcript of his speech consists, however, of 17 pages. This led us to ask Minister Miller for an author's selection of the most important social measures. Today we publish the first part of his selections:

Our social strategy is based on the development of active social policies, which reject bribing society by large price subsidies, particularly subsidies of food prices. Our basic assumption is that every citizen has the right to know who will receive what from society, how much, when, and why. We propose that every citizen should have an equal right to, and social guarantees for, everything he does for his future benefit.

We intend to actively compensate for the proposed adjustment in prices by augmenting direct social benefits. Since we are concerned with maintaining a dynamic equilibrium between wages, family budgets, and citizens' social incomes, we must fully compensate increases in food prices and differentiate in adjustments to the cost of housing, transport, heating, and energy. Our housing policy is orientated toward a greater differentiation in rents, which we intend to compensate only for socially disadvantaged citizens by introducing a housing allowance. It will be a contribution paid by national committees to people who do not meet the standard of social needs, from funds acquired in part by increased rental prices.

Additional Insurance

We further propose modifying the social security of all gainfully employed people by an additional social insurance. Analogously, we intend to deal with the advantages of the first and second pension categories. They will be replaced by the additional insurance paid from the resources of those who caused the impaired working conditions. Also necessary is adjusting, for instance,

limits to sick leave benefits in order to prevent a substantial decline in financial income during an illness. The financing of health care protection will be a multicomponent one.

Maternity, Family, Travel Fares

We consider it beneficial to put on equal footing the care for children under three years and employment, so that all women [looking after a child under three years of age] would receive a contribution of 60 percent of an average net income of a woman under 30, which represents the sum of 900 korunas per month. This will be continually adjusted to cost of living increases. The increased expenditure on maternity benefits will be covered by the savings on preschool facilities and by means from the rehabilitation fund our ministry will have at disposal.

We have to protect families with children from the consequences of price changes during the period of transition to the market economy but, at the same time, we have to abandon the expressly pro-family policy. Therefore, we intend to fully compensate the increases in the price of food and the cost of heat and energy by augmenting the family allowance. It will be increased by about 250 to 300 korunas per child [and month], but the preferential treatment of families with three to four children must be abandoned. We propose to compensate the increased cost of travel by introducing a 50 percent discount for children under 15 and for senior citizens. Student fares will remain unchanged. Subsidies for worker's fares will be gradually phased out. They may be provided from company resources.

Minimum Pensions

The sole source of income, according to us, must not be lower than 1,200 korunas [per month] for an individual or 2,000 korunas for a couple. In addition, increments in prices of food, rent, hot water, and consumer goods will be accompanied by further growth in the sole source of income for pensioners by approximately 300 korunas (500 korunas for a couple). Pensions will also be adjusted by a personal allowance, which is to be indexed to increases in food prices.

It is necessary to redefine the term social need and to establish a poverty line. Price adjustments will also be reflected, in a differentiated way, in the payments for institutional social care. The extent and quality of the care provided will be taken into consideration. A full indexation of pensions will be introduced in 1991. We are also trying for multicomponent retirement income with a state-guaranteed subsistence minimum.

Part II

AU0504135590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Mar 90 p 5

[Marta Csontosova report: "What Will Minister P. Miller Present to Federal Government for Approval?; Three Billion Korunas Will Not Suffice"]

[Text] We already know that our national economy is heading for a restructuring. It is necessary to prepare for it technically, economically, and by a social security program. It will require a payment system for retraining and unemployment, reacting flexibly to the changing economic conditions. According to what the minister of labor and social affairs said on Tuesday [27 March] at the 26th joint session of both Federal Assembly chambers, it is necessary to envisage the introduction of a labor market and to make the entire social security system more flexible. What is it all about? This is a sequel to the material published on Friday, 30 March, and we again present the statement by Minister P. Miller.

It is not cheap for a state to deal with unemployment. This is clearly demonstrated by West Germany and Austria. Entire institutions were formed there to deal with unemployment and retraining.

The solution we propose envisages extensive retraining programs, and it will require an annual expenditure of 1.5 billion korunas. Creating approximately 30,000 new jobs will cost another 900 million. Expenses for retraining and vocational education of citizens will be provided by employers on the one hand and, on the other hand, to a large extent, by labor exchanges. If we assume that annually 8,000 workers with an average income of 3,500 korunas will complete a one-semester retraining or vocational education courses, it will cost the labor exchanges 168 million korunas. And that does not include the cost of material and technical arrangements, which we estimate at 24 million korunas.

Provisions for Temporary Loss of Employment

In addition to the shift in the labor force caused by structural changes, we have to count on some general fluctuation movement, and on an annual placement of 70,000 graduates of secondary institutes, colleges, and universities, while not all of them will undergo retraining. Each of them, however, must be provided for financially from a special purpose fund, if the set conditions are met. We envisage an unemployment of 40,000 persons annually, and their support will cost 724 million korunas.

Unemployment will necessitate organizing labor exchanges equipped with the essential qualified workers and appropriate computer technology. We envisage 2,540 such workers for the entire republic and, at an average salary of 3,500 korunas, this comes to a sum of 107 million for their wages alone. The computerized information system and organization of the bureaus and their maintenance will amount to further expenses of 30.5 million korunas.

Dealing with retraining and unemployment is a complex problem, and it is very dependent on how we work, what national income we produce, how we implement the structural changes including the phase-out programs and the creation of new jobs.

...As of Monday, the concept of a labor market and principles of employment law are in existence here. For details, however, you will have to wait until the next session of the federal government.

ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 'State Enterprise'

AU0604105090

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 2 April on page 1, under the headline "ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY—A State Enterprise Beginning 1 April," carries a 250-word article by Petr Schoenfeld, the newspaper's chief editor.

According to Schoenfeld, "Today's edition is the first one to appear with an imprint stating ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY State Enterprise. We can now make decisions about our own affairs ourselves. We have greater opportunities, but also greater responsibilities. We also know the risks."

Prior to 2 April, the newspaper had been published by the Czech Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Czech committee of the Union of Cooperative Farmers.

New CTK Economic Service, Publications

LD0904132990 Prague CTK in English 1241 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—Information is like any other kind of commodity, which applies first of all to economic and commercial information. That is why new weeklies which the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY (CTK) is beginning or intending to publish can be expected to arouse interest.

'SOUKROMY PODNIKATEL' (PRIVATE ENTREPRENEUR), a supplement to the economic paper 'SVET HOSPADARSTVI' (ECONOMIC WORLD), published by the CTK Economic Department in Prague for 30 years, appeared as a signal printed matter for the first time last week. It will appear weekly as from April 19 and will contain information on the entrepreneurial sphere, legal regulations and comments on them as well as legal and economic advice and other matters of interest.

The CTK Economic Department in Prague is also preparing the publication of the English-language weekly bulletin 'CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMIC NEWS'. It will contain information on the Czechoslovak economy, particularly the enterprise sphere and is designed for a wide range of subscribers, from banking and financial institutions to single firms operating in different economic spheres.

The CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY in Bratislava is going to bring out the weekly 'HOSPODARSKA KORESPONDENCIA' (ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENCE) as from September. The 32-page weekly, intended for managers, executives and entrepreneurs, will have an advertisment supplement of the same size which will appear irregularly depending on the interest of Czechoslovak and foreign advertisers.
ier Armin Delong

LD0604230690 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Academician Armin Delong, Independent, was born at the village of Bartovice, North Morovia, on January 29, 1925.

After a grammar school he was enrolled at Benes Technical University of Brno, at the Faculty of Engineering and Electrical Engineering. After finishing studies in 1950 he worked as an assistant in the Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Electrical Engineering of technical University. In 1957 he defended a doctor's dissertation. In 1968 he became the external head of a department of physics at Purkyne University Faculty of Natural Sciences in Brno. He suspended his activities in the period of normalization. In 1978 he was named professor at Technical University of Brno and in 1981 he became member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

He has always specialized in electron optics, particularly electron microscopy. Together with his fellow-workers he introduced this field in Czechoslovakia. Through production of electron microscopes the method of electron microscopy could be applied to many scientific branches both at home and abroad.

Armin Delong is member of the international electron microscope societies federation committee and of other foreign societies.

Biography of New Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales

LD0604230790 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 6 (CTK)—Vaclav Vales was born at the village of Smecno, central Bohemia, on April 7, 1922 to a miner's family.

From 1945 to 1955 he worked in the chemical works in Litvinov, North Bohemia, in various posts, the last one being deputy director of the chemical works.

In 1965-1967 he held the function of minister of the chemical industry. In 1968 he was foreign trade minister and in 1969 Czechoslovak deputy premier and chairman of the Economic Council. In the period of normalization he was deprived of all functions and had to work as a research worker in the "Benzina" enterprise in Prague.

In 1980 he was arrested after a fabricated trial. After a three- year imprisonment in Plzen, west Bohemia, he retired.

In January 1990 he was summoned to the government presidium office to hold the post of an adviser.

Further on Government Coalition Talks

Ebeling Gets Post

LD0904105890 Hamburg DPA in German 1012 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—DSU [German Social Union] Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling confirmed on 9 April that he will be given one of the three ministerial posts with which the DSU is to enter the new government. Asked by journalists during a break in the coalition talks, he refused to say whether it was the interior minister post or another portfolio.

He expressed optimism about the continuation of the coalition talks this afternoon. The coalition talks' participants were still agreed on their willingness to carry out the unification process according to Article 23 of the Basic Law, Ebeling said. "Speedy" progress was being made in the negotiations. If the atmosphere and talks continue to be as good as they "are today, then we will finish tomorrow", Ebeling said. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Announces Ministers

LD0904175890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The composition of the 24-member cabinet has been determined. This was announced late on 9 April during a break in the coalition negotiations on the formation of the government among the three conservative alliance parties, the Liberals, and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in Berlin. Prime Minister-designate Lothar de Maiziere said that the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] will be given 11 ministerial posts, the SPD seven, the Liberals three, the DSU [German Social Union] two, and the DA [Democratic Awakening] one. Acting SPD Chairman Markus Meckel will be foreign minister. DSU General Secretary Peter-Michael Diesetel was named interior minister and deputy prime minister.

Further details, including some names, were given. The CDU will be given the posts of the head of the Office of the Prime Minister, as well as economic affairs; youth and sport; family and women; health and social services (Professor Juergen Kleditzsch); transport; environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety (Prof. Karl-Hermann Steinberg); energy; education and sciences; and culture portfolios.

SPD politicians will receive the portfolios for foreign affairs; finance (Dr. Walter Romberg); trade; labor and social affairs; posts and telecommunications; food, agriculture, and forestry; and research and technology.

DSU ministers will be responsible for internal affairs and economic cooperation (Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling).

Liberals will lead three ministries: an Administrative Ministry [Strukturministerium] (Manfred Preiss), which is to prepare reform of the laender, among other things; the Justice Ministry; and the Construction, Town Planning, and Housing Ministry (Dr. Axel Viehweger).

Democratic Awakening will be in charge of the Ministry of Disarmament and Defense (Rainer Eppelmann). [passage omitted]

Kirchner on Coalition Talks

LD1004092290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0819 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Questions of economic and internal policy have determined what is expected to be the last meeting of the negotiating delegations of the coalition parties, according to German Social Union [DSU] leader Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling. The party leaders of the three conservative parties, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Liberals met for this purpose this morning in the House of Parliamentarians in Berlin. It is the sixth meeting at this level.

Christian Democratic Union [CDU] General Secretary Martin Kirchner announced that there is wide consensus on the breaking up of the publicly owned enterprises, which is one of the topics in the subject area of property still under discussion. On the subject of the currency union, he stated that no date has been set for this in the coalition agreement. Kirchner described 1 July only as a desired date.

According to the CDU politician, the GDR will not station any NATO troops, but "the united Germany will be a member of NATO."

Until unification, Kirchner said, there will be a law-governed state and the beginnings of a social market economy in the GDR. The CDU does not have a copy of the state treaty drafted by the Bonn government.

Further intensive work is being carried out today on the final version of the coalition agreement. Also on the agenda are more party group meetings this afternoon, which are to confirm the decisions reached. The announcement of the appointments of all cabinet members is then expected to be made by the prime minister-designate, CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere.

Talks on New Government Resume

LD1004083290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0841 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The coalition talks on the formation of a new GDR Government are today nearing conclusion. This morning the negotiation delegations of the Alliance parties, the Liberals and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] met in the Berlin House of Parliamentarians. They are discussing various outstanding questions. Consensus has been reached on the coalition agreement, the edited final version of which should also be available today. After final confirmation by the party groups this afternoon, the announcement of the full list

of cabinet members can be expected this evening—probably at around 1800. [passage omitted]

No Statement 'Before Easter'

LD1004115690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1101 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There will be no government statement from the new GDR Cabinet before Easter. The distribution of the ministries will be concluded to a great extent by the time of the next People's Chamber session on 12 April. Designated government head Lothar de Maiziere announced this to the press after the round of coalition talks at midday Tuesday. The coalition talks will be continued on 11 April, whereby one assumed, according to De Maiziere, that there would be no essential hindrances.

Acting SPD [Social Democratic Party] head Markus Meckel said that the areas of education, culture, foreign affairs, environment, and security had already been dealt with. Economic issues were the next to be debated.

SPD Group Briefed on Coalition Talks

LD1004140990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1323 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] negotiators in the coalition talks for the first time informed the parliamentary group members on the content of the negotiations. Those subject areas in which a large degree of consensus has already been achieved between the future government partners of the conservative Alliance, Liberals, and SPD, have priority. According to deputy parliamentary group Chairman Professor Frank Terpe, the topics of social affairs, health policy, education, culture, and the environment are among these. He gave the assessment that they were "over the worst" in the coalition talks, and that there could be no more "sticking points." There could be points of dispute in domestic and energy policy. Statements to the press on the filling of further SPD ministries could not be expected after the parliamentary group session had concluded. The topic could, however, have a role to play in the session.

Liberals Informed of State of Coalition Talks

LD1004142490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1346 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The negotiating delegation of the League of Free Democrats informed members of its People's Chamber parliamentary group this afternoon on the state and direction of the coalition negotiations. Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb stated before the discussion commenced that he has no doubt concerning the formulation of a grand coalition. The delay in the negotiations should be viewed within the context of the need to form a new democratic government with extraordinary thoroughness.

[East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1339 GMT on 10 April transmits a 30-word item, stating that "The Christian Democratic Union Presidium has convened a special session of the party executive for 11 March to deal with the grand coalition and the formation of the government." The item states that "Press spokesman Helmut Lueck said this today to ADN"]

Bergmann-Pohl Begins as Acting Head of State

LD0904161490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1352 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—People's Chamber President Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, took over on 9 April from the acting Council of State chairman, Professor Manfred Gerlach, the duties of acting GDR head of state. The parliamentary president spoke about this at an international news conference in Berlin. She asked that preconditions for the election of a state president be created as quickly as possible since the burden of two offices will be too much for her over a longer period. She refused to mention a name or date. She hoped that at the next People's Chamber session on 12 April the prime minister will be elected and the new government introduced.

With reference to a telephone conversation with her Bonn counterpart, Prof. Rita Suessmuth, who telephoned her on 7 April, Sabine Bergmann-Pohl said the conversation had given her a lot of strength. The two will attend a ZDF television roundtable, probably on 10 April. She underlined the urgent need for the two parliaments to get to know each other. The exchange of officials is being considered.

Asked once again about the way toward German union, Dr. Bergmann-Pohl detailed her former advocacy of Article 146 of the FRG Basic Law. She has meanwhile learned that Article 23 does not mean that "we accede unconditionally." It leaves broad scope for negotiations. As a "citizen president," which she consideres herself to be, she wants to ensure that everybody, including the elderly and socially disadvantaged, can look forward to a future with realistic and critical optimism. Nobody should "go to the dogs."

The president still has no final results about the composition of the ad hoc commission to investigate the activity of the former state security. The parliamentary groups will decide on that and the Presidium will discuss it. All the deputes, including those of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] have agreed to be subjected to screening. In her case this has already taken place.

Modrow Addresses Economic Situation, Union

LD0904135690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1306 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Main (ADN)—The unemployment of millions, as forecast for the GDR by some people, could be avoided. This was stated by acting Prime Minister Hans Modrow this evening in a lecture to the Rhine/

Main Economics Club in Frankfurt/Main. This requires, he added, to begin, together with the monetary union, a period of harmonization. This should enable the GDR economy to adapt to EC conditions. So far, all new EC members have been granted a period of harmonization of many years, when they already had a developed market economy. The GDR needs such a period even more, for it starts with an economy that previously has been managed primarily administratively.

Modrow called for a monetary union in which GDR citizens are "not hammered, but treated justly." The rate of 1:1 for savings up to 2,000 marks and similar ideas amounts to a cut in the currency. "But nobody should assume for himself the right to punish the GDR citizens financially and socially for wanting, by a majority vote, a unified German state."

Modrow also announced in his speech to the approximately 400 leading industry representatives that GDR foreign debts had been reduced since he took office. In November of last year, the gross amount, i.e. without taking into account credit balances, came to over $20 billion. At the end of March, it was less than $6 billion. All the associated obligations have been met to date.

The real test for the GDR economy would start in the second half of this year, the acting prime minister said.

Meckel on Social, Currency Union

AU0904082990 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 9 Apr 90 p 2

[Ewald Koenig report: "Only a Social Union is Acceptable"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Ibrahim Boehme, former Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] chairman, who resigned because of accusations in connection with the State Security Service, has virtually disappeared. For one week, the sick politician has not been in touch with anybody, his successor Markus Meckel stated in an interview for DIE PRESSE. Boehme's whereabouts are not known. The party council nevertheless thanked the former chairman for his work, Meckel said. In answer to the question of why he and other GDR politicians talk of a currency, economic, and social union as a package, while recently the Bonn finance minister made it explicitly clear that there will be no social union—at the most, social support, Meckel said: "In our agreement something different is laid down. 'Social support' is not mentioned."

Thus, "only a social union is acceptable for us, and we will act accordingly," Meckel stated. [passage omitted]

In addition, according to Meckel, a new topic is to be negotiated: the state treaty that Bonn plans to present; whose contents, however, are unknown, at least to the SPD. Meckel does not know whether the Eastern Christian Democratic Union [CDU] "has had the draft in its drawer all the time."

Meckel also regards Bonn's actions in the discussion on the currency union as "really disquieting." According to Meckel, not even CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere knew about the planned 1:1 exchange rate. Apparently, the Bonn CDU does not even trust its own partners in the GDR. This is a "dictate," Meckel stated. [passage omitted]

SPD's Meckel Opposes Adopting Basic Law

LD0704082690 Hamburg DPA in German 2301 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The acting chairman of the GDR-SPD [Social Democratic Party], Markus Meckel, has spoken out against a straight adoption of the FRG Basic Law in the unification of the two German states. In an interview for the Dortumund-based WESTFAELISCHE RUNDSHAU (Saturday edition) he said that negotiations were needed for "changes and improvements" in the Basic Law.

Meckel justified SPD participation in the coalition talks with the Alliance for Germany by saying that the SPD wanted to strengthen the hand of CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman and Prime Minister-designate Lothat de Maiziere. It was the SPD's task to help the CDU "preserve independence and not just be Bonn's puppet." An edited version of the interview was prereleased to DPA.

Gysi on Local Elections, Unification

AU1004080890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Apr 90 p 1

[ND-Richter report: "PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) for Many 'Red' Town Halls"]

[Text] Dresden—On 7-8 April, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi held discussions with more than 6,000 members and sympathizers of the PDS, including candidates for the local elections, in Dresden Bezirk [Area]. There were lively debates in Kamenz, Goerlitz, Zittau, Loebau, Bischofswerda, and Dresden on the PDS local policy program.

The elections on 6 May—Gysi categorically rejected any postponement—should bring about strong self-administration in the communities as a compensation between government policy and the interests of the citizens. A "black" [conservative] government certainly needs many "red" [socialist] town halls, the PDS chairman said on 8 April after the conclusion of this tour, speaking to thousands of comrades in Dresden. Now it is important to link up with the result of the People's Chamber elections—on 18 March about 2 million citizens voted for the PDS.

Gregor Gysi was asked many question on unification. "If we do not enter unification with self-confidence, we will assume a bowed attitude forever." This rules out an annexation [anschluss] via Article 23. By means of

unification, the people in both German states must gain a new identity together. One part of them must not be worse off than the other.

An annexation via Article 23 is categorically rejected by the PDS as an "application for emigration made by the state." "What we want is a unification process with a binding treaty under international law, and this rules out an anschluss via this article."

Gregor Gysi received much applause for the statement: We must make sure that the winners of the People's Chamber elections do not pursue any policy in the interest of their election campaign helpers from outside the GDR but in the interest of their voters in their own country.

Financing is a key issue in all communities. The party must learn to make good use of market economy mechanisms in the future. Thus, it is, for instance, important to establish regulations that give tax benefits to those enterprises that maintain kindergartens, clubs, and other social institutions. Those who are not committed in this direction should pay taxes to the communities as a compensation.

The PDS is for a new GDR constitution, the PDS chairman stresses, and proposed that all youth associations form a youth parliament in order to be able to influence the legislative activities of the People's Chamber.

- **Statement on Rabbi's Departure, Burials**

LD0604225490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1623 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a press statement ADN received today, the Council of the Israelite Community of Synagogues (Addas Jisroel) in Berlin announces "with regret and anger" that Rabbi Dr. Ebner and his wife had again left the GDR. In the statement, accusations are made that state offices and the Berlin city government are impeding the right, which is guaranteed by the Constitution, for Jews to practice their religion freely in Germany.

The reason for the rabbi's departure is cited as being that an apartment promised him by the GDR Government at the beginning of March has not been made available. It had been unreasonable for Dr. Ebner and his wife to carry out the spiritual leadership of the community from a hotel room. "Over and above this, conducting the rituals of a Jewish household outside one's own four walls is practically impossible for the head of an orthodox Jewish community—especially in the forthcoming Passover period."

At the same time, the interior minister had refused to enact a "special regulation on guaranteeing burials in accordance with the religious stipulations of the Adass Jisroel cemetery," which had been promised by the GDR Government. Thus the burial of a dead person, which takes place within 24 hours according to the Orthodox Jewish rite, was to be thwarted.

ADN learned from the city government today that it is trying intensively to resolve the apartment problem speedily. The desired four-room apartment for the Rabbi and his wife near to the synagogue is not available and it is neither legally or humanly justifiable for the city government to clear an apartment. The city government is trying to make available an appropriate apartment, centrally situated, in the foreseeable future.

From the Office for Church Questions, ADN was given a letter to peruse in which it is stated, with regard to the government decision on a special regulation for burials within 24 hours, that as a result of the change of government in the GDR it is no longer possible at short notice "to effect a special regulation via the Ministry of Internal Affairs." With respect to the Jewish ritual law, it asks "if necessary to act in the spirit of this decision as a transitional regulation."

* Leading Parties' Views on Runoff Elections

90CH0027A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Mar 90 p 27

[Representatives of the eight parties that received the most votes in the parliamentary elections respond to questions by Tibor J. Keri and Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "After Combat, Before the Battle"]

[Text] We invited representatives of the eight parties that acquired the largest number of votes in the parliamentary elections to the latest meeting of the NEPSZABADSAG political parlor. These were: Ferenc Kulin, MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] vice chairman; Ivan Peto, SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] manager; Istvan Prepeliczay, FKGP [Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party] executive secretary; Bela Katona, MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] presidium member and Budapest party chairman; Laszlo Kover, FIDESZ [Association of Young Democrats] steering committee member; Sandor Keresztes, KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] chairman; Gyula Thurmer, MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] chairman; and Gabor Szilagyi, MSZDP [Social Democratic Party of Hungary] spokesman. We asked our guests what they expect from the 8 April second round of elections, how many mandates they expect to receive, and what kind of campaign they intend to conduct in the remaining time period. We also requested that they reveal their perceptions about a coalition....

What are the party leaders' expectations from the second round of elections to be held next Sunday? How many mandates do you expect to receive?

MDF: We are counting on winning an even greater victory than we won in the first round. Our strength is primarily in the individual voting districts, in our candidates running as individuals. MDF candidates for representative have been known for a long time in the various settlements; they were able to make not only themselves but also the MDF program known. We are confident that an election alliance may evolve which enlists on our side those who voted for parties close to our right-of-center program, if the results of the first round so warrant, or if an agreement is reached among the candidates. We would like to acquire 40 percent of the parliamentary seats.

SZDSZ: We hope to improve our position in the second round. We envision a possibility of coming in first in the race. Our organizations in the countryside indeed came about later than those of the MDF, nevertheless we feel that our candidates are suitable to serve as representatives, and that given constituencies will judge this in the same way in a decisive majority of cases. We do not necessarily regard contacts we might make between the two rounds of elections as preparations for a future coalition. We would like to come close to acquiring one-third of the representative seats; accordingly, we are talking in somewhat more modest terms than the MDF representative. Like them, we do not like to mention specific numbers.

FKGP: More than 70 of our candidates remain in the race for the second round of elections. In contrast to the MDF candidates, our people are not publicly known personalities, nevertheless they are credible persons in given voting districts. We are hopeful that perhaps even half of our candidates may be seated in the legislature. Just how the local organizations will be able to reach an agreement with the rest of the parties, and in what ways they will yield to each other based on mutual advantages, will play an important role. We expect to strengthen our position in the second round.

MSZP: Fifty-six of our candidates will enter into combat on 8 April. Our chances are diminished by the fact that we are the only leftist party among the large parties, and thus we cannot really expect persons to yield in our favor. We may also claim that our candidates for representative are credible persons, recognized in their environment. Good contestants will be struggling with each other in the second round. We do not harbor exaggerated hopes. We expect Socialist Party victory in between five and 10 individual voting districts.

FIDESZ: We are hopeful that seven or eight of our candidates still in the race will advance further. We have already negotiated with the SZDSZ concerning our support of their candidates who have good prospects. Good relations evolved in the Plains between FIDESZ and FKGP groups. And in some districts, local agreements may be reached with the MDF. We hope that FIDESZ will have altogether between 22 and 25 representatives in Parliament.

KDNP: We are satisfied with the 6.5-percent results. In my view, five of our candidates still in the contest have a chance of being seated in Parliament. It is conceivable, however, that there will be a greater voter turnout in the second round of the elections, and the number of candidates to be seated may increase as a result. Incidentally, we thought that more people would go to the polls after 40 years of single-party elections.

MSZMP: Three of our candidates in individual voting districts are still running in the second round. We trust that they are starting out with good chances. We hope that after the second round the leftist forces will be somewhat stronger in Parliament. Unfortunately, the left was divided in the present elections. Thirty-five percent of the eligible voters did not take part in the first round of elections, thus the results do not fully reflect the views of society.

MSZDP: Altogether one candidate of ours may be seated in Parliament. We have information that the Social Democrats intend to support the SZDSZ in some districts, and the FKGP or the FIDESZ candidates in others, in the second round. Most certainly, our electors will support the candidate who appears most appropriate to them.

What preparations are you making for the second round of the elections; what kind of campaign are you going to wage in the remaining time period?

MDF: First of all, we must concentrate our forces on the so-called white spots. We are making an effort to make up for the shortcomings of regional propaganda work. We should develop a new strategy based on sociological analysis, but time is too short for that. We provide central assistance to the analysis of concerns in given voting districts or precincts, wherever that is necessary.

SZDSZ: In our view, in the second round the primary contest will be between the two parties which appear to be large. We would like to convey to voters that at this time we are competing primarily with the MDF, and not with the MSZP. It is possible that we made some small mistakes in the election campaign. It is possible that there were some posters which were not liked by everyone, nevertheless we did not want to incite hatred under any circumstances, nor did we want to discredit other parties. In recent days and weeks, however, methods, advertisements which do not deal with the programs of other parties but which discredit persons and stress false accusations have appeared. The significance of the local campaign will be far greater, the popularity of parties will play somewhat of a background role.

FKGP: The second round requires preparations that are entirely different from those needed in the first round. We did not have an appropriate opportunity to present our full program; this is one reason why our simplified presentation of the land ownership program was attacked. We had the fewest posters among the strongest parties, and this was due to financial and technical reasons. The latter will play a smaller role in the second round, because at this time we must truly focus on local tasks. We must examine in which districts most people stayed away from the ballot box, and we must find the places where we were known to a lesser extent. Accordingly, in a certain sense we must conduct a personal campaign. Also in this instance we do not believe that the pasting up of posters is the most efficient means of propaganda.

MSZP: We must use different methods than we did before the first round of elections. We have little money left, but aside from that, the individuality of the candidate will play a far greater role. We would like to conduct a campaign consistent with the personality of the candidate, including as many personal meetings as possible. Such meetings are better than large rallies. We are also making a precinct-by-precinct assessment of white spots.

FIDESZ: The way we see it, our success in the elections may be credited to a significant extent to our campaign. We also want to conduct a second round campaign tailored more to the individual. We are concerned that the campaign's tone may become course because the MDF and the SZDSZ are concentrating primarily on each other. We would not like this to happen. We must convince both young and old to take part in the largest possible numbers in the second round, because these age groups produced the greatest number of those who did not go to the polls.

KDNP: We will make an effort to achieve the greatest possible voter turnout on 8 April. We will be able to provide significant support to parties close to us wherever we do not have candidates any longer. We hope that in exchange they will support our candidates in other precincts. An article in NEPSZABADSAG indicated that our party was the one which made the least number of attacks on other parties and persons; true, we were not attacked either by ignoble means.

MSZMP: We are concentrating on Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg and Nograd counties—these are the counties where our candidates are running. We would like voters living in those counties to realize that only they can decide their own fate, and that they determine their future by voting.

MSZDP: We continue to organize our campaign and are also preparing for local elections. We will be calling on our supporters to support those parliamentary parties and candidates who come closest to the social democratic program.

Whom could you form a coalition with? Which parties do you feel are closest to you? Who would yield in whose favor in individual voting districts in the next round of elections?

MDF: Discussing coalition issues before knowing the second round results would be irresponsible. It would be more fortunate to talk about our perception of election alliances. We endeavor to reach agreements with the candidates of the KDNP and the FKgP, with whom we can strengthen each others' positions. At the same time, our organizations in the countryside have such good relations with FIDESZ groups in the countryside that one may also expect to see election alliances between the MDF and FIDESZ.

SZDSZ: In our view it is important that the citizen be aware of the purpose for which a party may use the votes cast for that party. We regard FIDESZ as the party closest to the SZDSZ. But the fact that in terms of our programs and in certain other matters we are close to each other does not mean that there are common organizational features. We believe that from among the six parties which will win seats in Parliament we would also be able to cooperate with the FKGP, after negotiating certain program points, of course. We view things differently with regard to the MDF. We say that the SZDSZ does not view party interests, but wants to keep in mind the interests of the nation in the event that a situation in which no decision can be reached were to evolve in Parliament.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Accordingly, in an ultimate emergency you would not rule out the possibility of forming a grand coalition.

[SZDSZ] It is not possible to phrase things more accurately than I did before, because the outcome depends on two parties. Quite obviously it would be impossible to

form a coalition if one party is willing to form a coalition only in case of a global economic crisis or war. On the other hand, the two large parties agree to the extent that neither of these parties are necessarily seeking out the other as a coalition partner. This is entirely normal at this stage of the elections. We have reached agreements with the FKGP with regard to mutually yielding in certain counties. We believe that by doing so both their and our chances have been improved.

FKGP: We are firm in our decision not to attach ourselves to any party, an action which would project in advance the possibility of a coalition, a matter we do not yet see clearly. Our party advocates the primacy of private property; this matter, however, has been simplified by many to the point that they are aware only about our land problem, and only part of it at that. The basis for any kind of coalition could be only the acceptance of our program by our partners to be, our program which relates to more than just the land issue.

MSZP: We are in a special situation. Of the parties that will be seated in parliament, we are the only ones representing the left. This, of course, also determines our opportunities as to alliances and coalitions. Quite obviously, declarations of unwillingness to form a coalition may also be regarded as mere election tricks. But if parties who made such statements were serious about that, it would come as a great surprise to us if they were to request our participation in a coalition. At the same time I also would like to stress that nowhere have we offered ourselves as coalition partners. We believe that in the future parliament the Socialist Party will play the role of a realistic, critical opposition. Only as a last resort would we be willing to participate in the work of government as coalition partners, and only if we are able to have part of our basic socialist principles accepted. We do not see a possibility for that today. Thus we are preparing ourselves to play the role of the opposition. At the same time, we believe that the situation taking shape in Parliament will not satisfy the needs of realizing a truly modern political rotation of the crop, the kind the end of the 20th century would demand.

FIDESZ: We also believe that the rotation of a conservative-liberal and a social democratic government would be appropriate in the late 20th century, even in this half of Europe. On the other hand, both the economic and political chances for this were forfeited by the party which makes reference to this fact—or by its predecessor party. We are the only ones, or at least we are among those few, who did not have to change their minds on a single essential issue during the past two years. This includes our relationship with the MDF and with the SZDSZ, we believe. We believe that a coalition grouped around the MDF-SZDSZ, or one that includes only these two parties—these two exclusively—can lead the country out of its crisis. Ivan Peto [SZDSZ] said that if the national interest so demands, they would be willing to join in coalition with the MDF. We are not among those who casually invoke the national interest all the time. But now we feel compelled to say that it is in the nation's interest that these two parties govern! These two parties have the appropriate political personnel, the expert apparatus most suitable for governing. And further, judging by the number of mandates, these two parties enjoy the greatest support, which is indispensable for long-term confidence in the government in times when difficult decisions must be expected. Any other coalition would lead to unstable governance, and this is not in the interest of anyone in this country. We are willing to support only a government like that. This does not necessarily mean that we want to be part of the government.

KDNP: We are a party with an expressly Christian outlook, and this determines our relations with the rest of the parties. We believe it is too early to discuss coalitions. At the same time, we have heard several times from the MDF and the FKGP that they could form a coalition with us. Quite naturally, all of this will be decided only after the elections. We do not endeavor to take part in government by all means, but in the event that the sense of responsibility for the nation so demands, and a centrist coalition comes about, we will be pleased to agree to play a role. If, on the other hand, we become part of the opposition, we will play a constructive role consistent with our traditions. Having assessed the situation in which the country finds itself, we would, by all means, support the struggle which leads the country out of crisis and does not endeavor to topple the government.

MSZMP: In the second phase of the elections we support parties and individual candidates to the extent that this is permitted by the opportunities available to us, parties and candidates which intend to represent mostly the workers' interests.

MSZDP: Both coalition alternatives appear to be optimum in the eyes of our party, but only if, as a party outside of parliament, we continue to have an opportunity to represent those we have represented thus far: the urban and industrial workers and employees [as published].

What is the earliest possible date that the new parliament could convene, and what do you regard as the most important task for the new parliament? When could we expect to elect a president of the republic?

MDF: The new parliament must convene in the shortest possible time. The first and most important task would be to prepare an inventory, to assess the condition the country is in. We do not believe that the election of the president of the republic constitutes a pivotal issue. And at present this is not the most essential matter.

SZDSZ: It is very important that there be no delay in forming a government. The new government must convince the international financial community as soon as

possible that they can trust that new government, and that the new government assumes the obligations that were made by the previous government. We must expect difficulties in electing the president and the vice presidents of Parliament, because, despite our recommendations, several procedural issues that appear to be important were not clarified by the parties among themselves. As far as the election of the president is concerned, the previous parliament made a political gaffe when it changed the constitutional provisions regarding this matter.

FKGP: A government must be formed as soon as possible, and a government program must be developed. We do not find the election of the president to be warranted at this time, nevertheless our view is unchanged with regard to the fact that the president of the Hungarian Republic must be elected by Parliament.

MSZP: True indeed: Forming a government as soon as possible is most important. With regard to the election of the president, our party's view remains unchanged: The people have the authority to decide.

FIDESZ: We fully agree with the idea that at this time people must not be burdened with additional campaigns. We continue to claim that in a parliamentary system the National Assembly must elect the president of the republic. At present, however, what the nation needs most is a government and a government program which can be implemented.

KDNP: We have always supported the idea of an institution in which the president of the republic is elected on the basis of the popular vote. Preventing this was a gaffe in our view—the fact that such an election did not take place prior to the parliamentary elections. But we also believe that at this time it would not useful to hasten this matter. A far more important matter is the administration of the election of autonomous governmental bodies, based on an entirely new election law. Only this much about the government: It should be established, and it should start functioning at the earliest possible date.

MSZMP: In the course of the elections the citizens decided which parties and programs they support. For this reason it is important that the National Assembly begin its work as soon as possible. The MSZMP's views are unchanged: The president of the republic must be elected pursuant to the constitution, only on the basis of popular vote.

MSZDP: A parliament and a government are needed. Their work would not be hindered if the country were to temporarily have a provisional president of the republic.

* Regional Electoral Party Slate Results

25000689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Mar 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Regional Slates, the Unofficial Results of the First Round"]

[Text]

Partial Results of Budapest Regional Slate

The tallying of the votes cast for the nine parties that appeared on the Budapest regional ballot form still continues. At press time, after analyzing 46.67 percent of the records, the following sequence evolved:

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]	28.23
2. Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]	27.72
3. Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]	12.87
4. Association of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]	11.30
5. Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]	5.47
6. Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party [FKgP]	4.96
7. Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]	4.10
8. Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP]	3.61
9. Patriotic Election Coalition [HVK]	1.69

Baranya County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. SZDSZ	22.21
2. MDF	20.18
3. FKgP	16.28
4. MSZP	9.22
5. FIDESZ	8.34
6. Agrarian Alliance	6.63
7. MSZDP	5.69
8. KDNP	5.26
9. MSZMP	3.67
10. HVK	2.47

Bacs-Kiskun County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	23.23
2. SZDSZ	19.87
3. FKgP	19.17
4. MSZP	7.89
5. FIDESZ	7.35
6. Agrarian Alliance	4.81
7. KDNP	4.66
8. Entrepreneurs' Party	4.34

We did not receive a detailed report from the rest of the parties which did not acquire four percent of the vote. These are the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Patriotic Election Coalition, and the Hungarian People's Party.

Bekes County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	23.85
2. FKgP	21.87
3. SZDSZ	17.62
4. MSZP	10.21
5. Agrarian Alliance	6.06
6. FIDESZ	5.79
7. MSZMP	5.29
8. MSZDP	3.99
9. Hungarian Green Party	2.12
10. Hungarian People's Party	1.71
11. HVK	1.43

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	25.00
2. SZDSZ	16.60
3. MSZP	14.95
4. FKgP	9.43
5. KDNP	8.49
6. FIDESZ	8.10
7. MSZMP	4.37
8. MSZDP	3.77
9. Agrarian Alliance	3.60
10. Hungarian Green Party	2.20
11. Entrepreneurs' Party	2.00
12. HVK	1.33
13. Hungarian People's Party	1.24

Csongrad County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	38.66
2. FKgP	13.56
3. SZDSZ	13.28
4. MSZP	7.35
5. FIDESZ	6.00
6. KDNPmocratic People's Party	4.65
7. Agrarian Alliance	4.39
8. MSZMP	3.94
9. MSZDP	3.02
10. National Smallholders and Citizens Party	2.90
11. Hungarian People's Party	1.13
12. HVK	1.06

Fejer County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. SZDSZ	25.08
2. MDF	24.31
3. FKgP	12.45
4. MSZP	10.00
5. FIDESZ	8.52
6. MSZDP	4.90
7. MSZMP	3.56
8. Entrepreneurs' Party	3.54
9. Agrarian Alliance	3.53
10. HVK	3.14
11. Hungarian People's Party	0.92

Gyor-Sopron County

The county election committee did not publicize percentage figures.

Party
1. SZDSZ
2. MDF
3. FKgP
4. KDNP
5. FIDESZ
6. MSZP
7. MSZDP
8. Agrarian Alliance
9. MSZMP
10. Entrepreneurs' Party
11. Hungarian Green Party
12. HVK

Hajdu-Bihar County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	21.75
2. SZDSZ	19.77
3. FKgP	17.00
4. MSZP	14.10
5. FIDESZ	6.67
6. Agrarian Alliance	6.44
7. MSZDP	3.64
8. MSZMP	3.33
9. Entrepreneurs' Party	2.99
10. HVK	2.79
11. Hungarian People's Party	1.46

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	21.31
2. FKgP	17.17
3. SZDSZ	16.46
4. MSZP	11.42
5. FIDESZ	8.40

At press time no details had been received regarding the results and sequence of other parties.

Komarom-Esztergom County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. SZDSZ	24.99
2. MDF	22.14
3. FIDESZ	8.47
4. FKgP	8.41
5. MSZP	8.32
6. KDNP	7.31
7. Entrepreneurs' Party	6.25
8. MSZDP	4.03
9. Agrarian Alliance	3.21
10. MSZMP	3.20
11. Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	2.00
12. HVK	1.60

Nograd County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	18.33
2. SZDSZ	17.40
3. KDNP	15.50
4. MSZP	10.96
5. MSZMP	10.21

At press time no details had been received regarding the results and sequence of other parties.

Somogy County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. FKgP	18.95
2. MSZP	18.00
3. MDF	16.38
4. SZDSZ	15.71
5. FIDESZ	7.67
6. Agrarian Alliance	4.72
7. Somogy Christian Coalition	3.73
8. MSZDP	3.34
9. MSZMP	3.13
10. Entrepreneurs' Party	2.76
11. HVK	1.54
12. Hungarian Green Party	1.45
13. Freedom Party	1.39
14. Hungarian People's Party	1.17

Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	22.48
2. SZDSZ	14.77
3. FKgP	14.51
4. MSZP	10.75
5. Christian Democratic Party	9.63
6. FIDESZ	8.47
7. Agrarian Alliance	5.60
8. Entrepreneurs' Party	5.33
9. MSZMP	5.17
10. HVK	1.87
11. Hungarian People's Party	1.36

Tolna County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	19.92
2. SZDSZ	18.56
3. Christian Democratic Party	13.49
4. FKgP	12.88
5. FIDESZ	9.67
6. MSZP	8.97
7. Agrarian Alliance	4.18
8. MSZDP	3.41
9. MSZMP	2.95
10. HVK	2.27
11. Hungarian People's Party	1.85
12. Hungarian Independence Party	1.78

Vas County

Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. SZDSZ	30.03
2. MDF	23.76
3. Christian Democratic Party	11.73
4. FKgP	9.79
5. MSZP	7.59
6. FIDESZ	7.16
7. Agrarian Alliance	4.44
8. MSZMP	2.82
9. HVK	1.47
10. Hungarian People's Party	1.15

Veszprem County	
Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	24.75
2. SZDSZ	17.39
3. FKgP	11.85
4. FIDESZ	10.99
5. MSZP	9.14

At press time no details had been received regarding the results and sequence of other parties.

Zala County	
Party	Percentage of Total Votes
1. MDF	25.16
2. FKgP	15.41
3. SZDSZ	15.33
4. Christian Democratic Party	13.82
5. MSZP	7.26
6. FIDESZ	6.07
7. HVK	6.03
8. Agrarian Alliance	3.21
9. MSZMP	2.45
10. MSZDP	2.41
11. Entrepreneur's Party	2.28
12. Freedom Party	0.50

These elections are on Sunday, 8 April. Thanks, Karin.

* List of Candidates in Runoff Elections

90CH0028A Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Candidates for Representative Running in Individual Voting Districts, Who Are Qualified To Run in the Second Round of Elections"]

[Text] In our Tuesday issue we presented the list of Budapest candidates for representatives qualified to run in the second round of elections. At midnight, Wednesday, having concluded the lengthy tallying procedure, the national list was completed. This includes, of course, the five candidates who are certain to have acquired their mandates. These are: Jozsef Debreczeni, Zoltan Deme, Zoltan Kiraly, Miklos Nemeth, and Erno Raffay.

Key to Parties	
FIDESZ	Association of Young Democrats
FKgP	Independent Smallholders, Agricultural Workers, and Citizens Party
HVK	Patriotic Election Coalition
KDNP	Christian Democratic People's Party
MDF	Hungarian Democratic Forum
MNP	Hungarian Peoples Party
MSZMP	Hungarian Socialist Workers Party
MSZP	Hungarian Socialist Party
MSZDP	Social Democratic Party of Hungary
SZDSZ	Alliance of Free Democrats
IND	Independent Candidates
MISC	Miscellaneous Parties

Key to Miscellaneous Parties	
(1)	Entrepreneurs' Party
(2)	Hungarian Independence Party
(3)	National Smallholders and Citizens Party
(4)	Independent Social Democratic Party
(5)	Alliance for the Villages and the Countryside Election Party
(6)	Agrarian Alliance
(7)	"FEDISZ-Kiskunfelegyhaza, TEDISZ-Kiskunmajsa"
(8)	Hungarian Green Party
(9)	People of the East
(10)	Association of the Defenders of Nature and of Society
(11)	Party of Generations, Pensioners, and Families
(12)	Hungarian Cooperative and Agricultural Party
(13)	Independent Hungarian Democratic Party
(14	Social Democratic Party of Hungarian Gypsies
(15)	Freedom Party
(16)	Somogy Christian Coalition
(17)	Sacred Crown Society
(18)	Party for a Hungarian Countryside

Budapest

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Dornbach, Dr. Alajos	SZDSZ	13,992	32.04%
	Banffy, Gyorgy	MDF	12,953	29.66%
	Vitanyi, Ivan	MSZP	5,277	12.80%
2	Eorsi, Dr. Mihaly	SZDSZ	12,766	30.22%
	Zsigmond, Attila	MDF	11,800	27.93%
	Bubla, Gyula	MSZP	5,641	13.35%
3	Levay, Dr. Bela	SZDSZ	10,988	28.3%

Budapest (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Siklos, Csaba	MDF	10,842	27.92%
	Orosz, Sandor	MSZP	4,969	12.79%
4	Sarossy, Laszlo	MDF	16,417	44.98%
	Ivanyi, Gabor	SZDSZ	12,673	34.72%
	Kelen, Laszlo	MSZP	4,327	11.85%
5	Meszaros, Dr. Istvan	SZDSZ	10,451	30.11%
	Fekete, Dr. Gyula	MDF	9,063	26.11%
	Szecsenyi, Mihaly	FIDESZ	4,490	12.94%
6	Torok, Dr. Ferenc	SZDSZ	11,092	37.62%
	Inczefi, Istvan	MDF	6,475	21.96%
	Naszadi, Ferenc	FKgP	3,025	10.26%
7	Tamas Gaspar, Miklos	SZDSZ	14,152	39.03%
	Schamschula, Dr. Gyorgy	MDF	10,168	28.04%
	Szabo, Lajos	MSZP	4,427	12.21%
8	Katona, Kalman	MDF	9,897	29.28%
	Szekhelyi, Jozsef	SZDSZ	9,486	29.07%
	Molnar, Peter	FIDESZ	4,233	12.52%
9	Demszky, Gabor	SZDSZ	9,804	33.01%
	Erhardt, Csaba	MDF	6,754	22.74%
	Fillo, Pal	MSZP	4,443	14.95%
10	Raj, Tamas	SZDSZ	8,696	30.63%
	Somogyi, Dr. Tamas	MDF	7,477	28.34%
	Szabo, Dr. Zoltan	MSZP	4,403	15.51%
	Rockenbauer, Zoltan	FIDESZ	4,253	14.98%
11	Haraszti, Miklos	SZDSZ	9,745	33.25%
	Maroti, Laszlo Ferenc	MDF	7,823	27.04%
	Barath, Gergely	FIDESZ	3,162	10.79%
12	Tolgyessy, Dr. Peter	SZDSZ	8,808	33.79%
	Szabo, Dr. Ivan	MDF	5,932	22.76%
	Tallossy, Frigyes	HVK	2,996	11.49%
13	Zacsek, Dr. Gyula	MDF	9,937	35.32%
	Orban Dr. Viktor	FIDESZ	5,720	20.33%
	Szabo, Miklos	SZDSZ	5,147	18.29%
14	Dobos, Laszlo	MDF	10,709	35.27%
	Horvat, Antal	SZDSZ	7,436	24.53%
	Egri, Dr. Tamas	MSZP	4,172	13.74%
15	Csapodi, Dr. Miklos	MDF	10,685	31.05%
	Hack, Dr. Peter	SZDSZ	7,111	20.66%
	Fodor, Dr. Gabor	FIDESZ	5,877	17.08%
16	Perjes, Dr. Gabor	MDF	10,865	29.28%
	Koszeg Ferenc	SZDSZ	7,886	21.25%
	Deutsch, Tamas	FIDESZ	5,803	15.64%
17	Katay, Dr. Zoltan	MDF	10,000	39.49%
	Bauer, Tamas	SZDSZ	7,819	30.87%

Budapest (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Monostori, Ildiko	FIDESZ	3,869	15.27%
18	Raday, Mihaly	SZDSZ	16,370	35.09%
	Horvath, Bela	MDF	10,284	22.04%
	Surjan, Dr. Laszlo	KDNP	6,430	13.78%
19	Darvas, Ivan	SZDSZ	11,696	35.44%
	Csaji, Attila	MDF	6,976	21.13%
	Kiss, Dr. Istvan	MSZP	6,305	19.1%
20	Rajk, Laszlo	SZDSZ	10,166	36.83%
	Beke, Kata	MDF	6,880	24.92%
	Marosan, Gyorgy Jr.	MSZP	4,221	15.29%
21	Magyar, Balint	SZDSZ	12,550	32.38%
	Arva, Dr. Laszlo	MDF	9,272	23.92%
	Vass, Dr. Csaba	MSZP	4,487	11.57%
22	Peto, Dr. Ivan	SZDSZ	13,820	34.81%
	Csepella, Imre	MDF	10,270	28.57%
	Vanko, Magdolna	MSZP	4,764	12%
23	Mecs, Imre	SZDSZ	12,010	34.83%
	Hornok, Dr. Laszlo	MDF	7,938	23.02%
	Siklosi, Attila	MSZP	4,096	11.88%
24	Palotas, Janos	MDF	13,819	35.94%
	Veg, Gabor	SZDSZ	10,330	26.87%
	Ader, Janos	FIDESZ	4,215	10.96%
25	Szent-Ivanyi, Istvan	SZDSZ	9,892	27.16%
	Balla, Dr. Gabor Tamas	MDF	8,804	24.17%
	Ruttner, Dr. Gyorgy	MISC (4)	4,424	12.14%
26	Denes, Janos	MDF	7,952	27.32%
	Fedak, Zoltan	SZDSZ	7,635	26.23%
	Katona, Dr. Bela	MSZP	4,691	16.11%
27	Szeleczky, Dr. Zoltan	MDF	8,465	25.9%
	Somogyi, Dr. Janos	SZDSZ	8,144	24.92%
	Nagy, Dr. Gabor Tamas	FIDESZ	3,777	11.56%
28	Fodor, Dr. Andras Attila	MDF	11,422	30.85%
	Kohalmi, Istvan	SZDSZ	11,363	30.69%
	Fejes, Istvan	MSZP	4,653	12.56%
29	Balogh, Marta	SZDSZ	9,784	31.79%
	Vizy, Dr. Bela	MDF	8,954	29.09%
	Reger, Antal	MSZP	3,344	10.86%
30	Szasz, Dr. Tamas	SZDSZ	6,379	33.2%
	Gyurko, Dr. Janos	MDF	5,064	26.35%
	Kaman, Laszlo	FIDESZ	2,513	13.08%
31	Lotz, Dr. Karoly	SZDSZ	9,642	47.51%
	Homoki, Geza	MDF	6,192	30.51%
	Csaba, Peter	MSZP	3,043	14.99%
32	Meszaros, Dr. Peter	MDF	7,111	26.21%

Budapest (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Beki, Gabriella	SZDSZ	6,500	23.96%
	Nemeth, Zsolt	FIDESZ	4,623	17.04%

Baranya County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Andrasfalvy, Bertalan	MDF	8,999	29.74%
	Varga, Levente	SZDSZ	8,051	26.6%
	Galbats, Andras	FKgP	4,742	15.67%
2	Getto, Jozsef	SZDSZ	7,306	23.03%
	Pap, Andras	MDF	6,953	21.92%
	Szili, Katalin	MSZP	2,862	9.02%
3	Bretter, Zoltan	SZDSZ	8,910	30.47%
	Mednyanszky, Sandor	MDF	5,289	18.09%
	Vonyo, Jozsef	MSZP	3,523	12.05%
4	Hoppa, Jozsef	MDF	5,698	20.13%
	Fekete, Gedeon	SZDSZ	4,396	15.53%
	Timaffy, Istvan	FKgP	3,374	11.92%
5	Wekler, Ferenc	MISC (5) (6)	10,917	29.50%
	Biro, Ferenc	MDF	7,945	21.47%
	Werner, Jozsef	SZDSZ	7,045	19.04%
6	Nagy, Ferenc Jozsef	FKgP	8,466	31.15%
	Heindl, Peter	FIDESZ-SZDSZ	6,223	22.9%
	Krebsz, Janos	MDF	3,328	12.24%
7	Molvay, Laszlo	SZDSZ	4,129	20.63%
	Kapronczay, Jozsef	MDF	3,846	19.22%
	Szomor, Ferenc	FKgP	3,404	17.01%

Bacs-Kiskun County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Jozsa, Fabian	MDF	8,882	34.54%
	Sandor, Laszlo	SZDSZ	4,813	18.71%
	Kalmar, Jozsef	FKgP	2,830	11%
2	Debreczeni, Jozsef	MDF	10,709	50.93% (elected)
3	Kanya, Gabor	MDF	6,189	29.91%
	Manyoki, Lajos	FKgP	2,479	11.89%
	Frigyesy, Ferenc	SZDSZ	2,472	11.94%
4	Faddi, Jozsef	FKgP	6,610	27.2%
	Bodi, Szabolcs	MDF	5,322	21.9%
	Bak, Istvan	MISC (6)	2,807	11.55%
5	Fekete, Pal	MDF	6,023	26.13%
	Reczi, Laszlo	SZDSZ	5,624	24.4%
	Garai, Istvan	MISC (7)	3,759	16.3%
6	Morvai, Ferenc	IND	6,801	25.85%
	Pohankovics, Istvan	FKgP	5,005	19.02%

Bacs-Kiskun County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Szenohradszki, Bela	SZDSZ	3,896	14.8%
7	Andriska, Geza	SZDSZ	7,553	26.18%
	Barth, Janos	MDF	4,875	16.9%
	Kosa, Andras	FKgP	4,793	16.62%
8	Toth, Zoltan	SZDSZ	5,310	23.95%
	Horvath, Laszlo	FKgP	4,727	21.32%
	Kiss, Sandor R.	MDF	2,770	12.49%
9	Nagy, Andras	SZDSZ	9,244	29.48%
	Peterfi, Tamas	MDF	6,061	19.33%
	Dancsa, Balint	FKgP	5,864	18.7%
10	Karsai, Peter	MDF	5,647	23.59%
	Franek, Bela	FKgP	5,268	22.01%
	Stancsics, Peter	SZDSZ	4,155	17.36%

Bekes County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Szokolay, Zoltan	MDF	8,558	24.72%
	Denes, Zoltan	SZDSZ	7,175	20.72%
	Zsiros, Geza	FKgP	5,989	17.3%
2	Kadar, Peter	SZDSZ	7,220	24.99%
	Liptak, Andras	MDF	5,219	18.06%
	Tar, Ferenc	FKgP	5,154	17.84%
3	Pasztor, Gyula	FKgP	6,272	26.02%
	Csurka, Istvan	MDF	5,662	23.49%
	Sos, Sandor	SZDSZ	3,337	13.84%
4	Pelcsinszky, Boleszlav	SZDSZ	4,286	19.73%
	Kazinczy, Istvan	FKgP	3,741	17.22%
	Lehoczki, Mihaly	MSZP	2,425	11.16%
5	Deme, Zoltan	IND	14,669	53.55% (elected)
6	Varga, Zoltan	MDF	10,336	30.01%
	Domokos, Tibor	FKgP	10,057	29.2%
	Olajos, Imre	MSZP	4,580	13.29%
7	Remport, Katalin	MDF	6,349	22.97%
	Bakos, Istvan	FKgP	6,123	22.16%
	Hevesi, Zsolt	SZDSZ	3,711	13.43%

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Balazsi, Tibor	MDF	8,539	32.25%
	Latran, Bela	SZDSZ	5,698	21.52%
	Toth, Pal	MSZP	3,146	11.88%
2	Balas, Istvan	MDF	8,561	27.17%
	Matyi, Laszlo	SZDSZ	5,875	18.64%
	Tompa, Sandor	MSZP	3,373	10.7%

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
3	Mile, Lajos	MDF	9,300	37.4%
	Timar, Eva	SZDSZ	4,781	19.22%
	Korinthus, Katalin	MSZP	2,936	11.8%
4	Kiss, Gyorgy	MDF	7,793	27.08%
	Bodo, Pal	SZDSZ	5,378	18.68%
	Wachsler, Tamas	FIDESZ	3,085	10.72%
5	Meszaros, Miklos	FIDESZ	3,485	13.69%
	Koos, Csaba	SZDSZ	3,453	13.56%
	Bardos, Balazs	FKgP	2,863	11.24%
6	Samu, Istvan	SZDSZ	3,896	18.86%
	Miklos, Arpad	MDF	2,820	13.65%
	Maczo, Istvan	FKgP	2,167	10.49%
7	Csorba, Piroska	SZDSZ	4,580	20.61%
	Toth, Istvan	MDF	3,865	17.39%
	Kiraly, Balint	MSZP	2,052	9.22%
8	Hatvani, Zoltan	SZDSZ	3,991	18.22%
	Szilagyi, Adolf	MISC(6)	3,440	15.7%
	Domokos, Jozsef	MDF	2,887	13.18%
9	Toth, Andras	KDNP	5,272	19.12%
	G. Nagy, Mrs. Maczo, Agnes	MDF	3,995	14.49%
	Kiss, Gyula	FKgP	3,899	14.14%
10	Nagy Bozsoky, Jozsef	MDF	6,526	21.76%
	Rusznak, Miklos	KDNP	6,159	20.54%
	Nemeth, Karoly	MSZP	4,094	13.65%
11	Nemeth, Miklos	IND	17,458	59.96% (elected)
12	Toth, Imre Laszlo	MDF	6,060	23.21%
	Zabos, Geza	SZDSZ	5,921	22.68%
	Bali, Istvan	MSZP	3,265	12.5%
13	Pesti, Ferenc	MDF	12,346	41.16%
	Dobos, Gyula	FKgP	4,851	16.17%
	Koncz, Gabor	SZDSZ	3,906	13.02%

Csongrad County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Raffay, Erno	MDF	16,631	53.42% (elected)
2	Kiraly, Zoltan	MDF	25,261	65.47% (elected)
3	Bratinka, Jozsef	MDF	12,958	41.17%
	Rozsa, Edit	SZDSZ	4,571	14.52%
	Annus, Jozsef	MSZP	2,205	7%
4	Eke, Karoly	IND	9,111	34.43%
	Harmath, Mrs. Istvan	MDF	4,801	18.14%
	Pinter, Istvan	FKgP	3,594	13.58%
5	Papp, Lehel Gyorgy	MDF	6,040	26.87%
	Imre, Karoly	FKgP	4,804	21.37%

Csongrad County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Laszlo, Bela	SZDSZ	3,338	14.85%
6	Szabo, Lajos	FKgP	9,266	29.75%
	Grezsa, Ferenc	MDF	8,218	26.39%
	Farkas, Ferenc	SZDSZ	4,747	15.24%
7	Mihaly, Zoltan	MDF	5,251	21.48%
	Kertesz, Dezso	SZDSZ	4,183	17.11%
	Santha, Sandor	FKgP	4,116	16.83%

Fejer County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Mozs, Jozsef	SZDSZ	9,164	28.7%
	Szabo, Sandor Andras	MDF	6,996	21.91%
	Balsay, Istvan	HVK	5,424	16.89%
2	Horvath, Miklos	MDF	8,673	28.43%
	Vilagosi, Gabor	SZDSZ	7,739	25.37%
	Mach, Gyula	MISC(1)	3,764	12.34%
3	Illesy, Istvan	MDF	6,976	26.38%
	Felix, Istvan	SZDSZ	6,063	22.92%
	Kovacs, Pal	MSZP	3,852	14.56%
4	Bako, Bela	SZDSZ	5,867	23.16%
	Szilasi, Gyorgy	MDF	5,350	21.12%
	Meszaros, Pal	FKgP	3,433	13.55%
5	Szagmeiszter, Pal	SZDSZ	7,183	24.72%
	Zsebok, Lajos	MDF	6,779	23.33%
	Horvath, Jozsef	FKgP	5,302	18.25%
6	Hajdu, Zoltan	SZDSZ	9,043	35.58%
	Palasti, Vince	MDF	3,727	14.66%
	Szabo, Gyorgy	FKgP	3,531	13.89%
7	Meszaros, Andras	SZDSZ	7,142	28.4%
	Varsanyi, Andras	MDF	6,363	25.3%
	Izing, Attila	FKgP	3,683	14.64%

Gyor-Sopron County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Buky, Dorottya	SZDSZ	9,056	27.69%
	Mednyasszay, Laszlo	MDF	7,743	23.67%
	Szabo, Janos	FKgP	6,516	19.92%
2	Kolozsvari, Erno	SZDSZ	9,312	24.66%
	Bako, Lajos	MDF	7,615	20.16%
	Lengyel, Gyorgy	KDNP	4,123	10.91%
3	Rab, Karoly	SZDSZ	13,019	38.86%
	Bajtay, Andras	MDF	8,979	26.8%
	Bako, Ferenc	MSZP	3,722	11.11%
4	Szekelyhidi, Laszlo	MDF	6,985	22.26%

Gyor-Sopron County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Finta, Jozsef Otto	SZDSZ	6,725	21.43%
	Pap, Janos	FIDESZ	4,587	14.61%
5	Balogy, Janos	SZDSZ	7,388	22.76%
	Turi Laszlo	FKgP	6,486	19.98%
	Nemeth, Jozsef	MDF	4,098	12.62%
6	Horvath, Tivadar	SZDSZ	8,698	25.72%
	Bakody, Gyula	FKgP	6,841	20.23%
	Pozsgai, Jeno	KDNP	6,662	19.7%
7	Szajer, Jozsef	FIDESZ	10,307	29.01%
	Karpati, Laszlo	MDF	7,052	19.85%
	Pozsgay, Imre	MSZP	6,387	17.97%
	Arszin, Miklos	SZDSZ	6,224	17.52%

Hajdu-Bihar County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Fejes, Attila	MDF	8,876	29.05%
	Tabajdi, Gyorgy Pal	SZDSZ	6,978	22.84%
	Cseh, Sandor	FKgP	4,134	13.53%
2	Bertha, Zoltan	SZDSZ	7,424	27.64%
	Gali, Akos	MDF	7,076	26.34%
	Orosz, Istvan	MSZP	3,608	13.43%
3	Mozes, Mihaly	SZDSZ	11,676	35.21%
	Erdo, Gyula	MDF	8,641	26.06%
	Bojan, Ferenc	MSZP	4,771	14.39%
4	Arany, Janos	FKgP	3,857	23.27%
	Gajdos, Pal	SZDSZ	3,044	18.36%
	Komor, Sandor	MDF	2,372	14.31%
5	Bank, Attila	FKgP	5,871	24.85%
	Hodosan, Roza	SZDSZ	4,090	17.31%
	Sapi, Jozsef	MDF	3,751	15.87%
6	Szuros, Matyas	MSZP	7,222	32.7%
	Farkas, Lajor	FKgP	4,079	18.47%
	Farkas, Dezso	MDF	3,708	16.79%
7	Sovago, Laszlo	MDF	4,470	17.59%
	Nagy, Sandor	IND	4,008	15.77%
	Domokos, Janos	SZDSZ	3,259	12.83%
8	Csige, Jozsef	MSZP	4,824	23.63%
	Kemeny, Istvan	FKgP	4,200	20.57%
	Zsupos, Jozsef	MDF	3,505	17.17%
9	Olah, Imre	FKgP	4,437	19.62%
	Molnar, Tibor	SZDSZ	4,235	18.72%
	Almasi, Tibor	HVK	3,471	15.35%

Heves County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Szarvas, Bela	MDF	6,573	19.13%
	Novak, Rudolf	SZDSZ	6,496	18.9%
	Lukacs, Tamas	KDNP	2,961	8.61%
2	Horvath, Laszlo	SZDSZ	5,238	21.06%
	Kelemen, Jozsef	MDF	4,863	19.55%
	Chican, Zoltan	KDNP	2,841	11.42%
3	Komenczi, Bertalan	FIDESZ-SZDSZ	9,416	28.73%
	Reisz, Istvan	KDNP	6,254	19.08%
	Pokorny, Endre	MDF	3,806	11.61%
4	Baranyai, Miklos	MDF	8,884	32.55%
	Bajusz, Imre	SZDSZ	5,503	20.16%
	Molnar, Lajos	KDNP	3,407	12.48%
5	Pongracz, Jozsef	MDF	4,412	18.95%
	Kovacs, Mrs. Nagy, Magdolna	SZDSZ	4,005	17.2%
	Bossanyi, Laszlo	KDNP	3,826	16.43%
6	Elek, Istvan	MDF	4,917	23.37%
	Horvath, Aniko	SZDSZ	4,332	20.59%
	Pasztor, Jozsef	KDNP	3,876	18.42%

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Kis, Zoltan	SZDSZ	6,196	26.82%
	Szigeti, Istvan	FKgP	4,434	19.19%
	Petho, Laszlo	MDF	2,762	11.95%
2	Mizsei, Bela	FKgP	4,602	23.28%
	Kecskes, Akos	MDF	3,916	19.81%
	Torok, Sandor	HVK	3,125	15.81%
3	Halasz, Istvan	MDF	5,452	23.18%
	Hortobagyi, Zoltan	SZDSZ	5,107	21.71%
	Posta, Zsolt	FKgP	2,874	12.21%
4	Petronyak, Laszlo	MDF	5,406	18.27%
	Fodor, Tamas	SZDSZ	5,132	17.34%
	Kovacs, Tibor	MSZP	3,405	11.51%
5	Kiss, Edit	SZDSZ	4,922	24.18%
	Molnar, Istvan	MDF	3,448	16.94%
	Csontos, Miklos K.	FKgP	3,308	16.25%
6	Toth, Albert	MDF	4,268	21.08%
	Arvai, Gyula	SZDSZ	3,532	17.44%
	Draskovits, Denes	MSZP	3,166	15.64%
	Szunyogh, Valeria	FKgP	3,308	15.25%
7	Szabo, Lajos	MDF	4,417	17.09%
	Dogei, Imre	FKgP	3,390	15.43%
	Tolnai, Antal	SZDSZ	3,203	12.39%

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
8	Szabo, Janos	MDF	7,614	31.48%
	Varga, Laszlo	FKgP	3,282	13.57%
	Varga, Mihaly	FIDESZ	2,483	10.26%

Komarom-Esztergom County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Szalay, Gabor	SZDSZ	10,449	31.38%
	Pordan, Jozsef	MDF	6,447	19.36%
	Helmle, Laszlo	MISC (13)	3,105	9.32%
2	Kalman, Attila	MDF	9,770	35.16%
	Freund, Tamas	SZDSZ	6,694	24.09%
	Hanko, Laszlo	FKgP	2,584	9.3%
3	Deak, Sandor	SZDSZ	7,340	26.46%
	Markus, Sandor	FKgP	4,171	15.04%
	Sera, Janos	KDNP	3,408	12.28%
4	Toth-Kurucz, Janos	MDF	7,389	24.79%
	Solecki, Szilard	SZDSZ	4,075	13.67%
	Bojthe, Andras	MSZP	3,078	10.32%
5	Arato, Geza	SZDSZ	8,445	28.87%
	Horvath, Zsolt	MDF	4,507	15.41%
	Ugrin, Emeso	KDNP	4,007	13.7%

Nograd County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Gusztos, Istvan	SZDSZ	5,618	19.94%
	Speidl, Zoltan	MDF	5,515	19.58%
	Szilagyi, Tibor	MSZMP	3,918	13.91%
2	Novak, Laszlo	SZDSZ	5,607	20.94%
	Toth, Sandor	KDNP	4,687	17.25%
	Kadarkuti, Jozsef	MDF	3,765	13.86%
3	Juhasz, Peter	KDNP	5,152	21.04%
	Frisch, Oszkar	MDF	3,607	14.97%
	Kukuk, Attila	SZDSZ	2,528	10.32%
4	Kovacs, Gabor	KDNP	6,369	22.71%
	Hlacsok, Janos	SZDSZ	5,483	19.55%
	Csekey, Laszlo	MDF	5,218	18.6%

Pest County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Bogardi, Zoltan	MDF	7,243	29.04%
	Meszaros, Gyula	KDNP	4,881	19.57%
	Ormandy, Jozsef	SZDSZ	4,595	18.42%
2	Katona, Tamas	MDF	6,546	25.7%
	Vass, Istvan	SZDSZ	5,656	22.2%

Pest County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Bartos, Ferenc	KDNP	3,332	13.08%
7	Torok, Gabor	MDF	7,696	23.24%
	Jos, Mrs. Miklos	SZDSZ	6,456	19.49%
	Tenke, Sandor	IND	2,914	8.79%
8	Kovacs, Laszlo	MDF	7,911	28.54%
	Gyurcsok, Jozsef	SZDSZ	4,478	16.15%
	Meszaros, Andras T.	FIDESZ	3,558	12.28%
9	Javor, Karoly	MDF	6,577	27.25%
	Szuhay, Peter	SZDSZ	6,274	25.99%
	Ronahathy, Istvan	FKgP	2,643	10.95%
10	Szauter, Rudolf	MDF	8,461	29.27%
	Hajdufy, Miklos	SZDSZ	7,823	27.07%
	Folsz Attila	FIDESZ	3,723	12.88%
11	Szel, Peter	MDF	7,822	29.72%
	Varhegyi, Sandor	FKgP	4,366	16.59%
	Bindorffer, Gyorgyi	SZDSZ	3,959	15.04%
12	Kuncze, Gabor	SZDSZ	11,035	40.14%
	Fazakas, Almos	MDF	8,502	30.92%
	Helmeczy, Matyas	FKgP	4,613	16.78%
13	Vona, Ferenc	MDF	10,115	34.16%
	Czombos, Mrs. VENCZEL, Eva	SZDSZ	5,410	18.43%
	Frank, Jozsef	FKgP	2,526	8.6%
14	Fodor, Istvan	IND	5,295	20.81%
	Mala, Ferenc	SZDSZ	5,289	20.78%
	Horvath, Istvan	FKgP	4,531	17.8%
15	Reti, Miklos	MDF	9,682	33.32%
	Suranyi, Dezso	SZDSZ	6,146	21.15%
	Arany, Bela	FKgP	4,941	17%
16	Kulin, Sandor	MDF	5,697	26.32%
	Abraham, Tibor	SZDSZ	4,674	21.59%
	Lakos, Laszlo	MSZP	4,185	19.33%

Somogy County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Kiraly, Bela	IND	11,458	45.43%
	De Sorgo, Tibor	MSZP	4,025	15.96%
	Hegedus, Lajos	IND	2,809	11.13%
2	Tarjan, Mrs. Laszlo	FKgP	5,710	20.08%
	Pasztohy, Andras	MSZP	5,244	18.44%
	Pogany, Gabor	SZDSZ	4,163	14.64%
3	Paris, Andras	SZDSZ	8,220	22.58%
	Barkoczy, Gellert	FKgP	5,253	19.07%
	Hazas, Jozsef	MSZP	4,166	15.12%

Somogy County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
4	Horn, Gyula	MSZP	8,896	32.86%
	Gaal, Antal	MDF	5,148	19.02%
	Nemeth, Bela	FKgP	4,703	17.37%
5	Istvan, Jozsef	FLgP	5,901	22.74%
	Suchmann, Tamas	MSZP	3,677	14.17%
	Katai, Ferenc	MDF	2,928	11.28%
6	Sipos, Imre	FLgP	4,943	19.42%
	Nagybocskai, Tamas	MDF	3,511	13.79%
	Beke, Laszlo,	MSZP	3,286	12.91%

Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Takacs, Peter	MDF	5,870	22.28%
	Laborczi, Geza	SZDSZ	5,198	19.73%
	Kosa, Ferenc	MSZP	3,414	12.95%
2	Szilassy, Geza	MDF	4,556	17.74%
	Lenti, Istvan	SZDSZ	4,407	17.13%
	Baja, Ferenc	MSZP	3,905	15.18%
3	Makkai, Laszlo	SZDSZ	3,466	16.04%
	Varkonyi, Istvan	MDF	3,509	14.15%
	Berecz, Janos	MSZMP	2,738	12.67%
4	Kallay, Kristof	FIDESZ-KDNP-SZDSZ	6,473	31.18%
	Kun, Bertalan	FKgP	3,512	16.91%
	Pekk, Antal	MDF	2,769	13.33%
5	Jakab, Ferenc	MDF	4,279	22.21%
	Ivan, Erno	KDNP	2,536	13.16%
	Kozma, Laszlo	SZDSZ	2,379	12.35%
6	Szendrei, Jozsef	MDF	6,410	30.58%
	Somos, Jozsef	KDNP	3,787	18.07%
	Kiss, Tibor	FKgP	3,239	15.45%
7	Mezey, Karoly	MDF	6,866	33.68%
	Kriveczky, Mrs. Bela	SZDSZ	2,985	14.64%
	Revesz, Balazs	FKgP	2,978	14.61%
8	Szucs, M. Sandor	MDF	3,507	18.14%
	Ivanyi, Tamas	SZDSZ	3,428	17.73%
	Abrok, Imre	MISC (6)	2,274	11.76%
9	More, Laszlo	MDF	4,903	21.49%
	Torgyan, Jozsef	FKgP	4,181	18.32%
	Domotor, Istvan	SZDSZ	3,269	14.32%
10	Varga, Mrs. Piros, Ildiko	MISC (6)	3,890	17.57%
	Kavassy, Sandor	FKgP	3,162	14.28%
	Siket, Zsigmond	FIDESZ-SZDSZ	2,771	12.52%

Tolna County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Polyak, Sandor	SZDSZ	6,552	20.09%
	Ternak, Gabor	MDF	6,263	19.2%
	Janosi, Gyorgy	MSZP	4,839	14.83%
2	Simony, Jozsef	SZDSZ	4,860	18.21%
	Figler, Janos	MDF	4,092	15.33%
	Kacsor, Jozsef	FKgP	3,814	14.29%
3	Barcza, Imre	SZDSZ	5,332	21.26%
	Bea, Jozsef	KDNP	4,372	17.43%
	Ohnmacht, Gyorgy	MDF	3,746	14.94%
4	Horvath, Lajos	MDF	4,150	25.12%
	Fazekas, Istvan	KDNP	3,206	19.41%
	Sarhegyi, Attila	SZDSZ	2,749	16.64%
5	David, Ibolya	MDF	4,876	24.57%
	Csike, Gyorgy	FKgP	3,101	15.63%
	Varga, Janos	HVK	2,641	13.31%

Vas County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Hanko Farago, Miklos	SZDSZ	9,193	30.82%
	Hende, Csaba	MDF	7,266	24.36%
	Nemeth, Emma	KDNP	3,118	10.45%
2	Racskai, Jeno	SZDSZ	9,136	31.2%
	Adam, Karoly	MDF	7,038	24.04%
	Haluskay, Endre	KDNP	2,992	10.22%
3	Horvath, Vilmos	SZDSZ	7,920	26.37%
	Csapo, Tamas	MDF	5,551	18.48%
	Kovacs, Arpad	KDNP	4,995	16.63%
4	Monostori, Endre	SZDSZ	9,515	29.41%
	Gombos, Ferenc	MDF	8,297	25.65%
	Denes, Tibor	FKgP	4,445	13.74%
5	Fur, Lajos	MDF	10,042	29.45%
	Meszaros, Bela	SZDSZ	9,792	28.72%
	Balogh, Dezso	FKgP	4,591	13.46%

Veszprem County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Pusztai, Erzsebet	MDF	8,324	26.68%
	Madai, Peter	SZDSZ	7,551	24.2%
	Vilagosi, Gyorgy	FKgP	4,157	13.32%
2	Szabo, Tamas	MDF	8,209	34.44%
	Szor, Gyula	SZDSZ	4,691	19.68%
	Csonka, Imre	FKgP	3,161	13.62%
3	Kover, Laszlo	FIDESZ-SZDSZ	10,703	29.73%
	Penzes, Tibor	MDF	9,252	25.7%

Veszprem County (Continued)

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
	Janosa, Bela	FKgP	4,742	13.17%
4	Sebok, Janos	HVK	6,754	23.22%
	Saary, Gyula	SZDSZ	4,883	16.79%
	Csizmadia, Istvan	MDF	4,847	16.67%
5	Schmidt, Ferenc	MDF	7,134	22.07%
	Huszar, Pal	SZDSZ	6,824	21.11%
	Patonai, Peter	FIDESZ	3,233	10%
6	Horvath, Balazs	MDF	6,576	34.58%
	Schiszler, Lajos	SZDSZ	4,086	21.49%
	Asztalos, Istvan	MSZP	1,993	10.48%
7	Papp, Sandor	MDF	6,992	28.71%
	Veress, D. Csaba	SZDSZ	4,741	20.34%
	Szelenyi, Zsuzsanna	FIDESZ	2,882	12.36%

Zala County

Voting District	Candidate	Party	Number of Votes Received	Votes as Percentage of Total
1	Marx, Gyula	MDF	8,968	28.58%
	Szigethy, Istvan	SZDSZ	8,539	27.21%
	Karasz, Mrs. Racz, Lidia	MSZP	4,183	13.33%
2	Tarnoczky, Attila	MDF	9,411	29.33%
	Solti, Karoly	SZDSZ	7,912	24.66%
	Balogh, Ferenc	KDNP	3,318	10.34%
3	Csoma, Laszlo	IND	11,438	39.89%
	Villanyi, Pal	SZDSZ	4,979	17.36%
	Csengey, Denes	MDF	4,661	10.21%
4	Rudics, Robert	MDF	9,127	27.6%
	Ari, Miklos	SZDSZ	6,088	18.41%
	Fekete, Istvan	KDNP	5,321	16 09%
5	Toth, Tihamer	MDF	8,120	23.87%
	Palfi, Denes	HVK	6,287	18.48%
	Varga, Lajos	SZDSZ	5,303	15.6%

Election Editorials Cite Expectations, Problems

LD1004093790 Budapest MTI in English 0845 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 10 (MTI)—Tuesday morning's central newspapers carry editorials on the Sunday elections.

The daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" writes: In his first intoxication with victory the HDF [Hungararian Democratic Forum—MDF] president announced that the real winner of the elections is the people of Hungary. However city streets on the morning after displayed no victorious festivities. This can be explained by the Hungarian People's sobriety or by the fact that much remains to be done before people will really start believing that something genuinely good has happened to them. It is without doubt that a decisive proportion of Hungary's population voted in favour of the change of system against the disillusioning political practice of the past 40 years.

The article in "NEPSZABADSAG" reads: Great responsibility rests on the Hungarian Democratic Forum which is faced with mounting tasks. Tackling these requires active cooperation of society, or at least its agreement. However a part of the Hungarian society tired, what's more it has sunk into apathy. Another part might not even be aware yet of the depth of the crisis, and how difficult mastering the difficulties might be. The crisis was not induced by the Hungarian Democratic Forum and it has full right to require a period of forebearance.

"NEPSZAVA" writes: "We have gained a victory because people came to realise the real state of the elections. They became conscious of its responsiblity and

turned up for the voting in adequate numbers. ... The kind of opposition that the new government will have to face is however not a matter of indifference. The parties should rise above their grievances suffered during the election campaign, and must work for the better of the country without hostile sentiments, regardless of whether they are in the government or not.

"MAGYAR NEMZET" writes: New political power relations have crystallised. We are largely aware of what the nation dosen't want, but we can only surmise what it really wants. This will have to be formulated by the people who will take their seat in parliament. The majority of the new MPs are unknown, and they were so far unable or unwilling to take part in public life, or maybe even forced into illegality for some years. We are now expecting them to solve the country's economic plight, to put right the affairs of minorities both inland and beyond the borders, and lead the country back where it always belonged: To Europe.

Antall News Conference Emphasizes Cooperation

LD0904154190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0830 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Remarks by Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall at news conference at the International Press Center in Budapest from the "During the Day" program—live, in progress]

[Text] ...What is meant by the values of Christian democracy, what is meant by liberal constitutional statehood, and what is meant by a free market economy. A few months after the end of the Second World War, among the gnarled ruins, the Hungarian nation took exactly the same decision as now.

I think that for all of us who believe in democracy, who believe in the superiority of parliamentary democracy vis-a-vis every totalitarian system, this fact is the biggest reassurance and the biggest gratification. Every rumor, every accusation implying that the Hungarian nation is immature, that it is under emotional influences, every hypothesis of this nature has failed. The real winners of this election are the sober Hungarian people.

I would also like to remind you that it has been heard on numerous occasions, also from statesmen leading amid anxieties, that in Hungary the number of political parties will exceed 50. We were able to predict with reassurance that we are certain that the number of parties to obtain mandates in parliament will be under 10. Fortunately, that is how it happened.

I would also like to say from this place that the most important thing now is the unity of the Hungarian people. The multiparty system, political democracy, is not the opposite of the nation's being able to be united, but, on the contrary, with the clean political principle of interest coordination, this makes possible a unity of a highest order.

We trust that with the ending of the election struggle, all those passions, all those ill-feelings, all those vituperations, will become a thing of the past; that the victors will know how to win with self-moderation. No one should be blinded by the intoxication of victory, since the tasks before us require not the intoxication of victory, but a self-confident, responsible striving for government. And this is only possible if the political parties participating in government, as well as the opposition, have both received authorization for this from the Hungarian people, and if, cooperating in the basic issues, keeping in view the country's common interests, concentrating on the big issues, they advance affairs either in government or in the role-sphere that is ascribed to a constructive opposition.

Also I thank, first and foremost, the officials of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], those who took part in organizing the campaign with the greatest amount of self-sacrifice, all our victorious deputies, and all those candidates who undertook the struggle. Even if they only finished in second or third place, their work is also contained in the result of the election. And I am certain that they, too, will find (?this), and in the immediate months, when the local authority elections will take place, then they will continue to struggle together with us, and we count on them.

I would also like to say that now that we have got the elections over, and when we put the tools of the election struggle back in their cases, when we must look ahead to governing, then we count on the other side as well, as we trust that their actions will be guided not by offended emotions, but by their desire to cooperate with us in the nation's interest as a constructive opposition.

A few words about coalition discussions. We are of the view that the fact that the MDF is indisputably the strongest political party of the Hungarian National Assembly, makes it possible for us to form a stable [szilard] government with our eventual coalition partners. We will abide by our offer to the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and those independent deputies who have already so far indicated their sympathy with our ideas, our political views, and we trust that this will indeed attain at least 60 percent of the mandates of the Hungarian National Assembly. This could be such a stable basis from which it is possible to govern the country.

I ask the electors to put aside the grievances they have acquired in the election struggle, or the injuries they have been caused, that they should all extend a friendly right hand, because a condition of Hungarian political democracy is that the various political parties, when they do not pursue political struggle with each other, but when they must act as responsible legislators, then first and foremost they must not be opponents one of the other,

and mainly not enemies, but contestants. It would be sad if human relations in Hungary were to be made partisan, and if partialities were to be asserted in the coming years.

We wish to shape relations appropriate to an honorable, decent parliamentary system with our possible allies and our political opponents alike. We condemn every tendency contrary to this. The MDF—in so far as, finding appropriate political partners in government, continues the policy it started in opposition—first and foremost will take the most rapid, most decisive steps in the direction of European unity. For us the EEC is the most important target. We will strive with every means to get into it as soon as possible, and until we do so, to seek the means of partnership.

Naturally, the European countries are our most immediate partners. But we do not wish to oppose European unity with the Atlantic idea. On the contrary, we are convinced of the organic interconnection of a united Europe and North America, which has been proven by two world wars, that we simply belong together, even if we stood on one or other side in these two world wars. For this reason, we are on the side of European integration, adherents of Atlantic integration in the broader sense.

Further, we wish to be, and remain in connection with other leading powers, also with industrial powers such as Japan, whose economic relations are important for Hungary, even if, for the time being, unfortunately, only on the basis of the outstanding debt stock.

Further, in the East-Central European region, we wish to shape close relations also with those nations with which so far we were compelled together in the CEMA. We trust that we will be able to place our system of relations onto new footings.

We wish to maintain correct relations—important from the economic viewpoint—with the Soviet Union, as well. And as we have also indicated in our policy to date, it was with the totalitarian political dictatorship, with the presence of the Soviet troops, that we had problems, and not with the peoples of the Soviet Union itself. For this reason, trusting that the reforms will succeed in the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union will proceed in the direction not of anarchy and a new dictatorship, we will be correct partners of the reviving Soviet Union, but along with maintaining an independent Hungary and a Hungary belonging to Europe.

Our objective is the creation of a comprehensive system of European security and, with the creation of the European security system, all those possiblities stand before us which at present are known on the basis of the existing military systems. I think that for the time being it is sufficient to say this much. Together with my friends I am ready for questions.

More on News Conference

LD0904104490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The victorious MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] held its first international news conference this morning. The reporter is Ernod Kardos:

[Kardos] Hungary could have a new government within one month, as the MDF will begin coalition talks within the shortest possible time, stated Jozsef Antall at the news conference. In answer to questions, Jozsef Antall said that the MDF can only accept on a principled basis the restoration of the 1947 land ownership, which figures in the Smallholders' program; in the course of the discussions it will be necessary to refine this concept.

The Hungarian Army, just as at the time of the '56 revolution, will serve the multiparty system government, he said. On the other hand, the MDF chairman did not speak in detail about his plans to restructure the police.

Antall also pointed out that he will strive to integrate the country into the EEC, but he desires cooperation on the basis of mutual advantages with the countries forced into the CEMA, among them also the Soviet Union.

It was rumored at the press conference that despite being invited, Jozsef Antall will not be going to Bratislava to the three-country summit; however, the MDF has sent its observers.

Antall on Victory

LD0904182790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GTM 9 Apr 90

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The chairman of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] Jozsef Antall, has told newsmen that he considers it possible that the new government will be formed within a month. He characterized his party's great victory by saying that the alliance with the FKGP [Independent Smallholders Party] and the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] in all obtained as many parliamentary mandates as the Smallholders did in November 1945, and this is proof of the survival of political reflexes despite the many decades of dictatorship, said Jozsef Antall, of whom the French press agency writes that he is a moderate politician whose intellecutal capacities and political intelligence have raised him to the head of the MDF.

[Unidentified correspondent] The 164 parliamentary mandates of the MDF are the certain guarantee of governmental stability, said Jozsef Antall at the beginning of the briefing. Analyzing the possible government coalition, he emphasized that the electoral alliance, supplemented with likeminded independent deputies, has 60 percent of the mandates. This is a solid base from which the country can be governed, he said. Speaking about the Smallholders' condition of restoring the property relations of 1947, he said: It is a question of moral,

political rehabilitation, the details of which will be clarified at the negotiations now starting. Outlining the future role of the Army and the political police, he referred back to 1956. As he said, at that time, the Hungarian Army was a basis of the revolution. Now the guiding principle in both bodies will be professional competence and commitment to the nation. The same also goes for workers in the mass media.

Turning to foreign political questions, he placed the interests of the 15 million-strong Magyardom in the forefront. Speaking about the external economic activity of the country, he did not exclude contacts carried on with the CEMA countries, but as he said, these, for instance with the Soviet Union, must be placed on a new basis.

Speaking about internal political questions of the immediate future, Jozsef Antall said the following, in his statement to Newsreel:

[Begin Antall recording] I think that now, after the elections, all feelings of being offended must be put aside, casting suspicion must be put aside, and with complete awareness of responsibility, the outgoing government, the future opposition, and the future government must all agree that in Hungary, the political system change must be accomplished in a European manner, democratically and peacefully.

Hungary's peaceful transition will only really happen if people in every village and every smallholding feel that a political system change is happening in Hungary. For us to be able to speak of a political system change in Hungary, the local authority elections must also be held. These parliamentary elections have also meant that we were able to get to know very many people for the local authority elections, many people have come into our vicinity, and there are many people, not only among the victors, but also among the losers, whom we will count on in this. [end recording]

Coalition Possibilities

LD0904111390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Apr 90

["Excerpt" of speech by Hungarian Democratic Forum Chairman Jozsef Antall; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I would also like to say from this place that the most important thing now is the unity of the Hungarian people. The multiparty system, political democracy, is not the opposite of the nation's being able to be united, but on the contrary, with the clean political principle of interest coordination, this makes possible unity of a higher order.

We trust that with the ending of the election struggle, all those passions, all those ill feelings, all those vituperations will become a thing of the past, that the victors will know how to win with self-moderation. No one should be blinded by the intoxication of victory, since the tasks before us require not the intoxication of victory, but a self-confident, responsible striving for government. This is possible only if the political parties participating in the government, as well as the opposition, both have received authorization for this from the Hungarian people and if, by cooperating in the basic issues, keeping the country's common interests in view, and concentrating on the big issues, they advance affairs either in government or in the role ascribed to a constructive opposition.

A few words about the coalition discussion: We are of the view that because the Hungarian Democratic Forum is indisputably the strongest political party of the Hungarian National Assembly it is possible for us to form a stable government with our eventual coalition partners. We will abide by our offer to the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and those independent deputies who have already indicated their sympathy with our ideas and political views, and we trust that this indeed will attain at least 60 percent of the mandates of the Hungarian National Assembly. This could be a stable basis for which it is possible to govern the country.

Free Democrats Brief Media on Election Results

LD0904165690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] has given its opinion on the election results. Laszlo Gardai attended the briefing.

[Gardai] On the basis of the first round, we expected better results, but at the same time we cannot be disappointed. This is how Balint Magyar, executive official of SZDSZ, assessed the results of the elections. As it usually happens anywhere in the world, the party which was victorious after the first round further increased its advantage. The difference was so great because in the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]-SZDSZ contest, a considerable number of those voting for other parties now cast votes for the MDF.

It is also a fact that numerous Free Democrat candidates were defeated because of the slander campaign. Miklos Haraszti reiterated the early standpoint, that they will conduct themselves as a responsible opposition party, and they do not wish to attack the government for purely political reasons. The executive official expressed his hope that they will obtain the appropriate opposition rights for this, and that they will not behave only like a swaggering opposition party in parliament. To the question of whether they are afraid in the new situation, Ivan Petoe replied that they have concerns regarding the country's future, but they are not afraid.

MDF Favors Warsaw Pact Pullout

LD0904144690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Geza Jeszensky, a leading foreign affairs expert of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], stated to Yugoslavia's BORBA that the MDF wants to withdraw the country from the military organization [Warsaw Pact] so as to obtain a neutral or noncommitted status.

Free Democrats on Possibly Leaving Warsaw Pact

LD0904203490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] It was pointed out at the Alliance of Free Democrats news conference that they do not want to be a show-window opposition. The rights of the minorities must be guaranteed not only beyond the borders, but within the walls of parliament, too, because this does not happen automatically. They do not consider it desirable for the influx of foreign interests in the press to be monopolistic.

Now, too, the 1956 announcement by the Imre Nagy government on Hungary's leaving the Warsaw Pact is timely. For this reason, it is necessary to discuss this with the member states of the community. Another part of the future program is that those responsible should be called to account; those who are not responsible should be reassured.

As regards the parties' economic programs, there might be considerable differences primarily in the manner of implementation. Alongside this:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] If we find versions of solutions with which we are able to identify, or if we feel that the government in a situation of constraint is making use of not exactly pleasant solutions in economic issues, then we will evince so-called constructive opposition conduct. That is, we will not oppose the government's unavoidable endeavors, or those which to us are unacceptable, for their own sake, for the sake of being oppositionist. [end recording]

Various Parties Hold News Conferences

FIDESZ

LD0904184590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] At the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] news conference, Janos Abel first talked about how they have created their own vote summarizing system, learning from earlier experiences, which fortunately they had no need for. At the news conference, Jozsef Szajer was also present; he is referred to among themselves as the victor of Sopron. In this round he gained 4,000 extra votes, but even these were enough only for a bare victory.

Until the second round the relations with the local MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] were good, but their behavior before this round of the elections was a political disappointment. What happened here was the misusing of citizens' ignorance about constitutional matters; misleading leaflets flooded through letter-boxes, emphasizing that there was no need to vote for the FIDESZ candidate since he was already a member of the new parliament. Jozsef Szajer sees the chances of FIDESZ taking part in a government coalition as minimal; they were not approached, but nor do they have such intentions.

Laszlo Kover, who also gained first place in an individual electoral district, talked about his surprise at the number of secondary school pupils joining them. These can only be because young people regard this organization as their own. The knowledge that so many secondary school pupils are in sympathy with FIDESZ makes certain organizational changes necessary, so that the parliamentary group about to be formed can represent the views of all young people.

Christian Democratic Party

LD0904194190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] is hoping that a coalition will be created. Zsuzsa Vajda was at their briefing:

[Begin Vajda recording] The main question was the coalition, but this was what they were able to say least about, because they have not held talks since the elections with the victorious Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. According to the agreement reached before the elections, there is a chance for this, but if there is a grand coalition with whose members they have not reached an agreement, then, of course, they will recognizance this and stay out. But, even in opposition, they wish to be a constructive party, representing the interests of the community. As for the speculation on their possible merger into the MDF, for that too has a Christian wing, the answer is: The future will decide this; the KDNP trusts that they are at the start of the road, the construction of the party is starting now.

As regards property, they are believers in privatization, but they envisage a mixed economy. They do not believe in private property at all costs and above all else.

Their ideal is a Europe without borders.

On relations between the churches and the state, they said: The churches maintain institutions of public use because they participate in the moral and ethnical education of young people. This work must be supported. Also, churches that do not wish to concern themselves with politics are glad if their followers take their ideals out to the various political groups, but Christian Democracy is not exclusive; believer and nonbeliever can be at home here, for the main thing is whether the individual finds freedom and social security. [end recording]

MSZP

LD0904181190 Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP], as an opposition party, will not be interested in promoting a crisis, even less so as they hope to get into the government once more in future, it was said at the HSP's Monday press briefing.

Party President Rezso Nyers said they were satisfied with their election results in view of the fact that the HSP was basically a new party. Mr Nyers said the 530,000 votes cast for the HSP cut a remarkable figure.

The party president predicted a strengthening in the Hungarian left wing, including the HSP.

As regards the relationship between the HSP and the AFD [Alliance of Free Democrats—SZDSZ], he said bilateral relations were at the moment tense. He attributed this in the first place to the behaviour of some AFD leaders. He said with a number of manifestations, the Free Democrats seemed to be consciously trying to poison the relationship. He felt any cooperation or alliance out of the question for the time being.

Independent Smallholders Party

LD0904162890 Budapest MTI in English 1423 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 9 (MTI)—"The Independent Smallholders' Party is set on taking part in governing the country in order to fulfil its election promises. The party fared successfully at the elections". Jozsef Torgyan, head of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) [FKGP], told newsmen at an international press conference on Monday.

The goal of the ISP, he went on, is to establish conditions for multi-party government,for abolishing the autocratic state party, and for Hungary to be aligned to the Western world again.

In view of the sweeping election success of the opposition, these aims have been attained.

The Smallholders' Party emerged from the second round of the elections as the country's third-strongest party.

The election alliance forged with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party proved to be highly successful.

Preliminary discussions have opened the way to start coalition discussions with these two parties.

The ISP's land programme has been accepted by both would-be coalition partners, and is something which is of fundamental importance for the future.

Mr Torgyan said the HDF's leaders had promised that a new land law would be worked out along the lines proposed by the Smallholders.

Responding to questions, ISP leaders said that, should they take part in the new government, they would certainly want to see an ISP minister in the Agricultural Department.

Asked whether the ISP would have considered a coalition with the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD—SZDSZ] if the AFD had finished ahead in the elections, ISP representatives said that the Smallholders intended to take part in government at all costs, partly in order to implement their land programme, which was their most important election promise.

As for cooperation with the AFD, ISP leaders said they had succesfully cooperated with them during Hungary's first referendum last year.

Anti-Magyar Charges Levied at Romanian Radio, TV

LD0704125690 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2045 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] It is common knowledge what role has been played, or is being played even now, by the Romanian mass media—first and foremost the Romanian television and the official news agency ROMPRES—in creating the anti-Magyar mood. It has become the tool of those who want the atmosphere to be poisoned as possible.

[Correspondent] Please tell me if you know of anything concrete; because [all of] you have talked about this only in the press. In my view those should be called to account who are spreading this kind of thing.

[Announcer] It was not without reason that Andras Suto called out—and who does not remember his words:

[Suto] Before every competent forum in the world it must be clarified that these two organs, the Romanian television and ROMPRES, in fact have regularly published texts inciting pogroms, anti-Magyar pogroms.

[Announcer] They tried to hoax the Romanians first and foremost by saying the Magyars are coming and they will take Transylvania back from us. They managed to excite many people to such an extent that they no longer listened to the voice of sober reason.

[First unidentified speaker, shouting to a crowd in Romanian] The Hungarians have never formulated any demand to the effect that they want to take Transylvania away from us. There is no question of their wanting to take it away. They have no separatist endeavors, take good note of that.

[Announcer] Romanian public opinion, however, by now has experienced how far the local press can be believed. Here is a rapid opinion poll taken yesterday:

[Correspondent] Romanian public opinion, however, by now has experienced how far the local press can be believed. Here is a rapid opinion poll taken yesterday:

[Correspondent] What do you think? Would the Hungarian Government really be wanting Transylvania?

[Second Unidentified speaker, in Romanian] No, no. This is still the old story. That of Ceausescu. This accusation is not the invention of this transitional government. No, no, of course not. This is the old lesson, the old lesson which the nomenclatura learned by heart.

[Third unidentified speaker, in Romanian] For us the Romanian Magyars are our Romanian compatriots.

[Correspondent] In other words, Romanian citizens.

[Third unidentified speaker] Yes, they are our Romanian compatriots. No matter where they live in Transylvania, in the Banat, they are our Romanian compatriots. We have our greatest hope in our compatriots of the Hungarian mother tongue, because first and foremost it was the Hungarians who saved us.

[Correspondent] In what way?

[Third unidentified speaker] They made the revolution. How many Romanian Magyars and Saxons died then! And now they are setting us against each other. Well, should such a thing be allowed?

[Fourth unidentified speaker, in Romanian] It was Pastor Tokes who opened the door of the Romanian revolution. Afterwards the Romanians also made a move and that is how victory was born. But now the communists are intent on inciting the Romanians and the Magyars against each other.

[Fifth unidentified speaker, in Romanian] The Tirgu Mures events were presented objectively not by the Romanian but by the foreign mass media. Unfortunately, the Romanian television and the press presented matters in a one-sided way as if the nationalities—to be more precise the national minorities—were destabilizing the country because the government had not fulfilled the promises made to them and had not implemented the earlier decisions.

[Sixth unidentified speaker, in Romanian] Often they carried contradictory reports, from which I was able to conclude that they did not always say what was the reality on television and in the press. It was in some people's interest that public opinion should not get to know the reality, that tempers should not calm down, and that the dialogue may not begin. And yet people need to be able to understand one another. Dialogue alone can be the key to the solution, not diversion.

[Correspondent] What do you think, whom does it help if facts, news, are reported in a distorted, modified, way? In whose interest is this? who is manipulating?

[Seventh unidentified speaker, in Romanian] All kinds of people, extreme left-wing communists, Iron Guardists, have infiltrated, filtered back, into the country, who, arm in arm with the adherents of the old regime, want to create uncertainty. Destabilization is in their interest. I don't know how long this will continue, but for the time being that is the situation. You know, I have had several conversations with my relatives and friends in Wallachia, Moldavia, the Banat, and I have to say that they are all of the view that the Hungarians want to disannex [elcsatolini] Transylvania.

[Correspondent] And on what do they base this allegation of theirs?

[Seventh unidentified speaker] When I asked them on what they base all this, they very simply said: the entire mass media, the radio, television and press, tell us this. So, there is no question about it. Please, I have got to the stage that I have been forced to contradict my old friends or relatives, to refute what they say. Then I realized that as long as the mass media is like this in the country, we cannot expect the situation to get better, nothing will change while it is like this.

[Announcer] The Romanian television has also taken its share in inciting the anti-Magyar hysteria. Not only with the rumors it has spread, but also with what it has kept in the can, and what, as you will hear from the person most competent, it would like to keep there for some time yet. As a last resort, trouble can be stirred up not only with things that are reported but also with things are kept quiet. Premier Petre Roman, for example, alleged to us that everything started on 15 March. And yet already on 4 March one thing and another had happened in Alba Tulia, about which Romanian television did not report. We, on the other hand, did.

[Correspondent] The Romanians enraged by chauvinism were shouting: we shall die, we shall fight, but we shall not give [up] Transylvania. But these people had no idea that Hungary was in no way demanding back Transylvania. Why did your television not report the Hungarian Government's stance on this matter?

[Razvan Teodorescu, chairman of Free Romanian Television, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation] All along, during the Tirgu Mures events as well—everyone could see this and check this—we gave the microphone and the screen to those who asked that there should be quiet, that there should be peace. We could see very painful and bloody pictures from both sides. I did not even want to show them. I was even accused about this.

[Correspondent] So, when the Hungarian ambassador gave an interview to you [the media] in which he stated that the Hungarian Government refutes having anything whatever to do with the alleged separatist endeavors, you [the media] did not transmit this interview.

[Teodorescu] So that I should not endanger the balance. And this can be checked precisely. That evening I ensured for Mr. Domokos the possibility of speaking on the screen.

[Correspondent] But you did not transmit the interview the next day, either.

[Teodorescu] There would have been no sense in it. I could transmit it even now. But in the meantime things have become perfectly clarified. But I have it here with me, in reserve. Because when everything becomes clear, we shall want to give an exact picture of what happened in Transylvania, and we shall present the various opinions.

[Correspondent] We, that is Hungarian television, have broadcast the speech addressed to the crowd in Tirgu Mures by Jesus Voican (Volculescu), in which it was also heard: "We have no problem with the Hungarians. After all, they do not want to annex Transylvania." To this the Romanian crowd shouted: "No, no, this is a lie!" I have mentioned this so as to point out the extremisms of the Vatra Romaneasca. This is entirely missing from your broadcasts.

[Teodorescu] Yes, well, they are extremists. Because, incidentally, Vatra has a very interesting program. Just like the Magyar Democratic Federation of Romania [RMDSZ]. The truth is that in the beginning we had just one correspondent in Tirgu Mures. And everything which he filmed in the Tirgu Mures hotel was taken away from him, torn to pieces. Even his camera was damaged.

[Correspondent] Was it?

[Teodorescu] I don't know who did it. I don't want to accuse anyone. Only one day later did we get material, a few details. I know that the Budapest [television program] Panorama was much more present in Tirgu Mures than we. We could only send our crew three days later—not ten, as it has been said—with a military aircraft.

[Correspondent] Can we hope that when the Tirgu Mures consultations have ended you will offer the viewer a better chance to understand where chauvinism and extremism lead?

[Teodorescu] According to my concept, yes. I have no more ardent desire than that I should show in a thought-out and balanced way what has happened in Tirgu Mures.

Hungarian-Romanian Interparty Communique Issued

LD0604232390 Budapest MTI in English 1827 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, April 6 (MTI)—Minority rights should be respected, all nationalist and chauvinistic manifestations that harm and disrupt the friendship between the Romanian and the Hungarian peoples should be condemned, stresses the communique issued in Bucharest on the talks between the delegation of the Hungarian People's Party and leaders of the National Christian Peasants' Party of Romania. The Hungarian delegation met Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Christian Peasants' Party.

The communique stresses: The national Christian Peasants' Party expressed its cooperation readiness. Regarding minority rights, the document stresses that the rights of the minorities should be ensured in Romania. Democracy which fully respects human rights is necessary to realize this goal.

Laszlo Dezso, head of the Hungarian People's party delegation and member of the party's Presidium, informed his negotiating partners that the meeting of European people's and peasants' parties will be held in Hungary this autumn. An invitation has been extended to the Romanian party as well.

Horn Meets Romanian Liberal Party Official

LD0604212890 Budapest MTI in English 1431 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 6 (MTI)—On Friday, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn met Sorin Botez, foreign affairs secretary of the Romanian National Liberal Party, who is in Hungary as the guest of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

During an informal exchange on Hungarian-Romanian relations, the sides agreed that the approach, good relations and reciprocally beneficial cooperation between the two peoples were a historical necessity, for which the process of democratization provided a favourable opportunity in both countries.

Mr Horn stressed that the treatment of nationalities is a standard of democracy, and Hungarian-Romanian relations would not be good until the individual and collective rights of ethnic Hungarians in Romania are guaranteed.

Mr Horn informed the Romanian politician on the concrete steps the Hungarian Government had taken recently in the interest of bilateral cooperation.

He said he very much hoped that the legitimate Romanian Government which will take office after May 20 would be prepared to take concrete steps to develop Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Romanian-Hungarian Intellectual Foundation Set Up

AU0604182790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1510 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, (ROMPRES), 6/4/1990—The Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation foundation has been formed in Budapest, ROMPRES special envoy Sorin Petrescu announces. Its aim is "to institutionalize the dialogue of intellectuals in Romania and Hungary held in Budapest on 19 and 20 March 1990. [no closing quotes as received]

The intellectuals who attended the meeting elected Gyula Horn president of the foundation, and Mihaly Fulop its secretary. The foundation's headquarters are in Budapest. The participants agreed to ask the Romanian

intellectuals who attended the Budapest meeting in March to make nominations for co-presidency for the Bucharest office.

Delegation to Vienna Conference Submits Proposal

LD0604224790 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Vienna, April 6 (MTI)—Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation to the Vienna conference on confidence-building, put forward a new proposal at Friday's plenary session.

The Hungarian delegation proposed that the 35 CSCE countries hold a brief conference each year to survey the implementation of the military confidence- and security-building measures which are either in effect or will be approved by the Vienna Conference.

The negotiating delegations expect the Hungarian proposal to meet with a favourable response.

Although the idea of such conferences was raised previously by some Western and neutral states, the Hungarian delegation is the first to put forward a detailed proposal.

Skubiszewski States Terms on Recognizing Lithuania

PM0904154590 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 6 Apr 90 p 5

['BN'-signed report: "Poland's Foreign Minister: Lithuania Has Right to Independence"]

[Text] Poland's stance on Lithuania is based on the principle of self-determination, including Lithuania's right to found an independent state. But certain conditions must be met for Poland to be able to recognize Lithuania's independence. Among other things, the government must have full control over its territory.

This is how Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski explained his government's attitude toward Lithuania at a news conference in Helsinki yesterday. Skubiszewski is currently on an official visit to Finland.

He said that Poland wants good relations with the Lithuanians.

"But at the same time we stress the need for stability. There will have to be changes, but they should be carried through in such a way that a certain degree of stability is maintained. If the system of relations in East Central Europe is totally destroyed, chaos could arise, and this would jeopardize the process of change," he said.

He also said that he is hoping for a solution through discussions between Moscow and Vilnius.

Skubiszewski also gave assurances that Poland has no uncertainties about its eastern border, although some formerly Polish areas now belong to the Soviet Union. For example, the area around the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius was part of Poland before World War II.

"There are no territorial problems between us and Lithuania or between us and any other republic bordering on Poland, such as Belorussia or the Ukraine.

"The border was fixed in 1945 by the great powers and we accept it," the Polish foreign minister said.

However, Poland is interested in the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania.

"We have brought the Lithuanians' attention to the fact that certain guarantees covering the Polish minority must be given, particularly in the use of the Polish language in dealings with the authorities, and in self-administration and schools."

Skubiszewski denied that he is concerned about Poland's western border in connection with the unification of the two German states.

"From our viewpoint the border question was resolved long ago. The fact that we raise the issue in the context of German unification was due to the fact that it was given no mention in the important 28 November declaration by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl," he said.

Skubiszewski also told the news conference of his efforts to have Polish museum objects and art treasures that were taken to the Soviet Union returned to Poland.

"Most of them will remain in the Soviet Union. This mainly covers objects which testify to a Polish presence in a certain region.

"But we still want a number of objects to be returned to Poland. We have paid particular attention to the outstanding library in Lvov, which was formerly Polish but which is now part of the western Ukraine. The library was founded in the 19th century by Count Ossolinski, who donated it to the Polish nation, not to the city of Lvov.

"We accept the border change, but the library should be given back to Poland. For example, it contains the best collection in existence of Polish newspapers and journals from the 19th century," he said.

Traffic Decreases at Polish-Lithuanian Border

LD1004094390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 10 Apr 90

[Text] The amount of traffic passing through the Ogrodniki-Lazdijai road border crossing, temporarily closed by the Soviet side, is decreasing. The international coach transport service is slowly coming to a standstill. Yesterday, scheduled coaches to Vilnius and Lida did not set off from Bialystok due to the lack of passengers, and a coach from Grodno did not arrive in Bialystok. The other border crossings at the border with the Soviet Union are open.

Gorbachev To Hand Over Katyn Documents

LD0904181790 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—"The truth about the Katyn crime is most likely to come out in a few days," EXPRESS WIECZORNY writes today in its correspondence from Moscow.

"USSR's President Mikhail Gorbachev intends to convey a package of old documents on that crime to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski during the latter's visit to Moscow," the paper quoted a Soviet diplomat as saying.

The paper recalls that Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow will start this April 11, Wednesday, with his going to Lvov where he is expected to visit the Lychakovski cemetery.

Jaruzelski is also to visit Kiev and talk with the authorities of the Ukrainian Republic, and on April 13 the Polish president is scheduled to meet Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin.

On the following day Jaruzelski will go to Katyn and Lenino, the paper reported hinting that this week is going to pass on to the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

Ministry Explains Demand for USSR Compensation

LD0904211790 Warsaw PAP in English 2046 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 9—"In connection with the press information quoting an unauthorised statement by Minister of Justice Aleksander Bentkowski on the issue of getting Soviet Union's compensations for Poles' forced labour on the Soviet territory during WW II, amounting to not less than 4 billion roubles, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs explains:

"The matter of compensations, both moral and material, for the Poles for wrongs faced by them in the USSR, including also these caused by forced labour, was raised during bilateral talks, including talks on top level.

"This matter is not yet under realisation. During the talks the scale and size of compensation demands were not defined. The presentation of concrete postulates has to be preceded by collecting by competent ministries of the Republic of Poland appropriate documentation concerning the matter and taking account of the demands of all those directly wronged and also—in certain cases—of their legal descendants," the statement reads.

Skubiszewski Discusses German Unification

PM0504081690 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 25 Mar 90 p 11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Antonio Rego Chaves in Lisbon; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Rego] What is the status of relations between the president of the republic, General Jaruzelski, and Mazowiecki's government?

[Skubiszewski] Their relations are good. The president has satisfactory relations with the prime minister. The system works. The communist party no longer exists; conditions changed after the establishment of the roundtable (6 February 1989.) You may even wonder who is represented by the four ministers who belonged to the communist party and who remain in the government. They now call themselves socialists or social democrats. The president now belongs to no political organization, because the communist party has ceased to exist, as has its rule. General Jaruzelski remains head of the Armed Forces, as he was before taking on the post of president.

[Rego] Who will take Jaruzelski's place?

[Skubiszewski] Nobody, for the present. This will only be possible after the parliamentary elections, for which no date has yet been set. However, some political organizations are demanding that they be held in the coming months. Everything is changing—in the GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, even Romania. But Poland was the first East European country to move toward major transformations. The roundtable was established over a year ago.

[Rego] What is Solidarity's future role?

[Skubiszewski] Solidarity is now the principal force in the country, "the parliamentary civil Army." For the present we believe that the status quo must be maintained, although there are major pressures for an early general election. Solidarity has ceased to be primarily a trade union movement, with 10 million workers; now it is above all a political organization, with 3 million members.

[Rego] Could Jaruzelski be replaced in the event of a general election?

[Skubiszewski] Yes, in that case he could. Also if he were to decide to resign, even if elections are not scheduled...

[Rego] According to a recently published survey, Poles are afraid of German reunification. Are there any grounds for this?

[Skubiszewski] I do not believe there is a danger. We are in favor of the unification of Europe, including Germany. Of course there is the problem of the Oder-Neisse line. Previously the FRG wanted a peace treaty. We are willing to conclude one. But now Chancellor Kohl seems not to want such a treaty. It does not matter: We are willing to sign it even if it relates only to the border, since it would protect our interests.

[Rego] But the Poles are afraid...

[Skubiszewski] Yes, it is true that a large proportion of Poles fear unification, the greater Germany. I repeat that I do not share these apprehensions. Once it has joined the EEC and the Council of Europe, unified Germany—like Poland—will be a partner like any other. We will cooperate. We have been neighbors for a thousand years and at present relations with Bonn are good, especially following Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland. True, what the chancellor spoke about was not the Oder-Neisse line, but a "secure border." However, Hans-Dietrich Genscher did explicitly mention the Oder-Neisse border.

[Rego] Genscher is not Kohl.

[Skubiszewski] Correct. You are right. Genscher is not Kohl. However, I believe that Kohl is sincere when he talks about the borders with Poland. Chancellor Kohl faces a very imminent election campaign and I believe—this is just my personal impression, since I know of no facts to prove it—difficulties within his own party, the CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. But I am profoundly convinced that Helmut Kohl does not intend to alter the German-Polish border. I do not believe that this is his intention.

[Rego] So do you not believe that there will be difficulties, specifically in the four-plus-two negotiations?

[Skubiszewski] Difficulties could emerge—this is a hypothesis—if there is an insistence on concluding a peace treaty with Germany that includes war reparations, for instance. But we merely seek a treaty on the borders.

[Rego] Doesn't the Conservative victory in the GDR elections worry Poland?

[Skubiszewski] For us, it means a victory for rapid unification. I do not believe that this has major repercussions for Poland. Of course we would prefer a unification in stages. Moreover, this was originally Chancellor Kohl's idea. But everything happened very quickly; we were all overtaken by events. We must examine them in their present form and try to influence their course. It is no use repeating, "no, no, no." It leads nowhere.

[Rego] How do you regard the idea of a neutral Germany?

[Skubiszewski] We do not believe that Germany can become neutral again. Moreover, we are against the idea. Serious problems can emerge when a major country becomes a neutral state.

[Rego] The survey that we mentioned also indicated that a large proportion of Poles are in favor of maintaining the Soviet military presence. Will this happen?

[Skubiszewski] No. Most Poles want the Soviets to leave. But in view of the imminence of German unification public pressure for the USSR troops' withdrawal has become less strong. Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa has already spoken out in favor of their withdrawal. It must be a gradual withdrawal that always takes account of developments in the international situation. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Discusses Foreign Policy

AU0504150590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Apr 90 pp 1,3

[Dariusz Fikus report: "A New Order Is Being Created"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers met on 2 April under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting began with a report on the results produced by the visit that the chairman of the Council of Ministers paid to the United States and Canada. This item was closely linked to the document presented by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski outlining government foreign policy in 1990. It is a lengthy 16-page document that sets out Polish foreign policy priorities against a background of external and internal factors that are marked by the rapid, fundamental changes taking place in Poland and the rest of the world. The changes in Poland are being accompanied by fundamental changes in Europe, especially among our closest neighbors. This new situation calls for a very active foreign policy, and the discussion at the Council of Ministers meeting was devoted to such a policy.

The first of these priorities concerns: the expansion of political, economic, and other ties with Western Europe and with the EEC and the United States in particular; a further reorganization of relations with the Soviet Union aimed at fostering a community of interests, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation based on equal status; and the initiation of a Polish-German community of interests together with the definitive recognition of Poland's western border by a Germany that is in the process of uniting.

The part of the document that deals with government activity in 1990 also discusses: closer relations with the CSSR, Hungary and the Scandinavian countries; the effective use of economic and financial assistance for Poland; the strengthening of the rule of law in international relations; and the removal of obstacles to, and the creation of conditions facilitating the movement of persons, especially with respect to Poles' contacts with the rest of the world and contacts between Polish communities abroad and Poland.

The document, which was approved at the meeting of the Council of Ministers, will serve as the basis for preparing the speech that the foreign minister is to deliver before Parliament.

The second point on the agenda was a report delivered by Minister Jacek Ambroziak on the work of the Government Commission for Affairs Relating to the Legal Status of Political Parties and Youth Organizations and the recovery of state property. The Commission held 18 plenary session and several dozen working meetings that were attended by representatives of individual political parties and youth organizations. On the basis of information provided by voivodes and documentary material submitted by the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], it was ascertained that the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] had about 1,900 buildings and other premises at its disposal, of which 23 were the property of the PZPR; that is, they were built with PZPR funds and on plots of land belonging to the party. A total of 156 facilities were built or bought with PZPR funds on land belonging to the state treasury: Nine of these were vacation and educational centers and seven were facilities owned jointly (by the PZPR, the state treasury and others), of which two were vacation centers. The remaining facilities were used on the basis of leases, which applied to about 850 facilities, as well as administrative decisions, which applied to about 33 facilities, concerning leases, rental, and subletting agreements. About 500 facilities were used without there being any kind of agreement.

It was ascertained that the Democratic Party [SD] had about 450 buildings and premises: four were the property of the SD, three were built with SD funds on state treasury land and the remainder were used on the basis of contracts—about 210; subletting contracts—20; leases—10; and administrative decisions—about 150.

The former United Peasant Party [ZSL] had about 1,550 buildings and premises at its disposal, of which eight were the property of the former ZSL. Twenty-four were built on state treasury land using ZSL funds (of which three were vacation centers), two buildings were owned

jointly, and 760 premises were used on the basis of rental contracts; 27 were leased; about 60 were lent; and about 210 were used on the basis of administrative decisions.

The assets of youth organization comprised the assets of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scout Union, and Polish University Student Association. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth used 600 facilities and premises, of which ten were built with the organization's funds on its own land. Three were built with the organization's funds on state treasury land. The Rural Youth Union used 169 facilities. The Polish Scout Union used 459 facilities and premises, of which 41 were build with its own funds on its own land, and a further 41 were built on state treasury land with the organization's own funds.

It was decided that the administrative decisions and lease agreements on the basis of which political parties and youth organizations used facilities owned by the state will be canceled. It was agreed that conditions should be created giving an approximately equal opportunity to all parties to pursue organizational activities, and it was decided that parties can seek use of office space of between 150 and 350 square meters in every voivodship capital. Administrative decisions and agreements concerning premises that are located in voivodship, town, and township office buildings and have until now been used by parties and youth organizations will be canceled or notice will be given on them. In agreement with party and organization echelons, voivodes and mayors should provide the premises that are needed for the pursuit of organizational activities.

The government commission decided that facilities belonging to the former PZPR that were built with PZPR funds, and on land owned by the former PZPR, will become the property of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. Facilities built with the PZPR funds on land belonging to the state treasury will become the property of the state treasury. The government commission will place these facilities at the disposal of voivodes.

The archives of the PZPR will be taken over—and this has already happened—by the state archive network.

In Warsaw, the SdRP will use 4 of the 11 buildings previously used by the PZPR. They do not include the former PZPR Central Committee building. Minister Samsonowicz is campaigning to have the building transferred to Warsaw University. Several other proposals were also made during the Council of Ministers meeting. It was suggested that the former Central Committee building could be used by the bank and other financial organizations. The discussion on this issue was lively, and the final decision on the future of this enormous building rests with the premier.

Decisions about the remaining seven former PZPR buildings in Warsaw will made by the mayor of Warsaw following consultations with the government commission. Of the 10 vacation centers that were built or bought by the PZPR and located on state treasury land, two centers, which were jointly owned by the PZPR and the state treasury, have been transferred to the SdRP.

"Renewal" Polish Peasant Party facilities that were built with United Peasant Party [ZSL] funds and on the party's own land will become the property of the "Renewal" Polish Peasant Party. Facilities built on state treasury land with ZSL funds will be placed at the disposal of the peasant movement and its various organizations, in accordance with the "Renewal" Polish Peasant Party declaration. All remaining facilities that belonged to the ZSL will become the property of the treasury.

SD facilities built with SD funds on its own land will remain the property of the SD. In voivodship capitals in which the floor space of premises used by the SD significantly exceeds 350 square meters, SD echelons will decide on further use of the excess in agreement with the government commission.

In addition, the commission decided that parties should repay the loans, including interest, that were taken out to cover the costs incurred through the Sejm and Senate elections campaigns. The SD has discharged its obligations in this respect. The SdRP is in the process of settling its obligations. However, the "Renewal" Polish Peasant Party has announced that it is not in a position to repay its debts.

The administrative decisions and lease agreements on the basis of which youth organizations used buildings and premises belonging to the state treasury will be canceled. The facilities will be used to satisfy other social needs. This does not apply to facilities used by the Polish Scout Union; such facilities shou!d be used by the entire scouting movement.

As a result of the activities of the government commission, about 4,400 facilities, which have until now been used by parties and youth organizations, will be taken over. They will be used for general social purposes.

In the evening, the Council of Ministers discussed a draft bill on the distribution of tasks and powers, which are defined by special laws, between township organs and government administrative organs. The law will supplement the institutional law on local government. The bill runs to 87 sides and amends 37 different acts and decrees, issued by the president of the Polish Republic, beginning with the decree issued by the president of the Polish Republic on 22 August and ending with the law of 24 February 1989.

Daily Questions USSR Military Presence

PM0704125590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 31 Mar 90 pp 1, 6

[Jan Dziadul article: "Ivan The Less Terrible: Tanks Beyond the Volga or on the Odra?"]

[Text] During the February disturbances in Swidnica, General Major Nikolai Domashev—deputy commander and chief of the Political Directorate of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces in Poland—came out to face the youthful demonstrators and, in response to their calls of "Tanks into the Volga!" and "Russkies out!," answered them calmly: "We will go or stay wherever our governments tell us to go or stay."

In the Soviet forces' headquarters the predominant belief is that the demonstrations in Swidnica, Legnica, and other cities in Western and Northern Poland are instigated by forces which are interested in creating a military "blank area" in these regions.

"Who

"Who? Whoever challenges your borders."

General V. Dubynin, who has been in Poland for less than a year and who before that commanded Soviet troops in Afghanistan, reiterates the old military adage that soldiers go where politicians send them. Though the subject of Afghanistan is avoided in conversations ("We fully support the decisions made by our authorities!"), you get the feeling that both the general and the sizeable group of officers who have been through the Afghan hell would like to receive their orders only from sensible politicians.

"We do not want to stay here irrespective of what happens!" declares the Soviet Army commander. "For officers and soldiers, service in their own country is, for many reasons, easier and more acceptable. If tomorrow we get the order to leave, we shall do so, though it is not a simple thing to carry out."

Swidnica's Mayor, Adam Markiewicz, does not share the opinion about "foreign instigation" during the affray. It was more like a senseless game played by schoolchildren, which escaped the original organizers' control. The mayor believes that uncertainty about the policies of the future united Germany has largely calmed the public mood. If at this moment a referendum were to be held in the city, he suggests, quite a number of residents would probably vote in favor of the Russians staying—though perhaps not in their present numbers (in Swidnica, with its population of 63,000, there are some 12,000 Soviet soldiers and civilians) and on different terms. It would be best if they gave back the flats, the leased buildings, the hospitals, and the schools in the city and moved out to "green site campuses" to make them less conspicuous.

The Black-and-White Game

We are divided in our opinions about the 55,000 soldiers and officers stationed in Poland—and they see this. V. Shutkevich wrote in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (7 March) that their deep-rooted image as ideologically-inspired gendarmes, or even as an enemy occupying force, now conflicts on the banks of the Vistula and the Odra with the image of a protective umbrella which shields us from political bad weather. At the moment the contest to decide which of the two images will prevail is still under way...

In the cities where Soviet troops are stationed their image is two-sided: both black and white. The black side: It is they who, by taking up the available apartments, aggravate our housing problems (if they withdrew, housing difficulties in Legnica and Swidnica would be solved several times over.) It is they who devastate our roads and bridges, strip our stores bare of all goods, and offend our good taste with their slovenly appearance. They are simply Russians. The white side is appreciated by thousands of people who are employed to meet the requirements of the Soviet forces—by owners of service workshops, enterprises, farms, and stores who do excellent business with both troops and civilians. Simply with the Russians.

The black side of the image includes road accidents, devastated allotment plots, facilities built without official permission from the authorities (four in Swidnica), crimes and offenses perpetrated by soldiers, repeated instances of lawbreaking, and more...

On the white side again there is, for example, Colonel Vladimir Tovkach of the Legnica garrison hospital, ophthalmic surgeon, student of the celebrated Professor Fedorov, who has patients from all over Poland lining up to be seen by him. Last year he carried out nearly 1,600 complicated eye operations: In Moscow one such operation costs several hundred rubles. The white side of the image includes the Soviet hospitals which treat our patients in each garrison city and the Soviet troops' readiness to assist with construction projects or farm work... However, this white aspect of their image was not much in evidence before. At best, we used to see shades of grey as proof of a positive attitude to our country.

How Much Do We Know About Them?

"How much do you know about us?" asks Lieutenant-Colonel Viktor Petrukhin reproachfully. Lt-Col. Petrukhin, an officer of the Political Directorate at the Group Headquarters, comes from Lvov and is a Slavonic studies graduate. "You describe us through jokes and hearsay, on the principle of, "I heard this woman say...", "Folks in town say...", or "My tailor tells me..." You base your picture of us on myths and legends.

"And whose fault is this?"

"Perhaps you are right... Perhaps we had no chance..."

Mayor A. Markiewicz believes that perestroyka only reached the Soviet forces in Poland in the persons of V. Dubynin and N. Domashev. Last December the new commanders suggested a symbolic "roundtable meeting." This was set up in the troops' theatre hall. Gen. Dubynin briefed the audience in the tightly-packed auditorium on the conditions of the Soviet forces' stationing, their status, and their rights and duties. He also announced help with solving some shared municipal

difficulties... The local residents poured out their grievances: that the troops are an occupying force, because they are in a foreign country; that they are thieves, because soldiers stripped someone's garden of all the cherries... The generals receive the brunt of all the resentments and grievances that have accumulated over the years.

"That was the first meeting of this kind in the history of their presence in our country," notes the mayor of Swidnica. "Previous commanders took no notice whatever of our administrative authorities, and did not care one bit about our problems in this city. We frequently heard the opinion expressed that they had won these territories, "captured" them, so they were practically at home here anyway. I do not need to explain to you the consequences of this kind of attitude. Not all the officers have gotten rid of this kind of thinking, but the men at the top display a new quality now. They behave like officers of a foreign Army which is temporarily stationed in a sovereign country.

Gen. N. Domashev, 55, is hurt by the comparison likening the forces under his command to an Army of foreign occupants. He lived through one foreign occupation in a small village not far from Kursk, so he knows what it is like. He finds it hard to swallow the bitter pill of Polish ingratitude.

"We liberated you, did we not? Our whole armies fell on this land; my father and several other members of my family fought in the war... Do you still remember the way in which real occupying forces behave? Do they pay their power, gas, water, or housing bills? Do they pay for damages incurred, down to the last kopeck? Do enemy occupants try to be as inconspicuous and as little trouble as possible? After all, we do not even give our national servicemen any leave passes; they are virtually confined to barracks for two years; we really do bend over backward..."

Over the year and a bit that he has spent in Poland, Gen. Domashev has already found out that we have very different views on our history and on what until recently used to be our common policy. We often fail to understand one another. Perestroyka is having a hard time of it in the USSR and it is only making its way with great difficulty in the Army.

"We are slaves of our past, our habitual ways of thinking, our education, our attitudes, and our beliefs... Conservatism is deeply rooted in our nature. But I hope that we will eventually come to understand one another better."

Early this year an unofficial courtesy meeting was arranged between the Soviet command and prominent figures in the church hierarchy. For a variety of reasons, this first meeting has not yet been publicized.

An Army With No Secrets

In Gen. Domashev's office one whole wall is covered with detailed maps of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Europe. Above his chair hangs a portrait of M. Gorbachev; on the wall with the window, a portrait of D. Yazov, the defense minister. On the desk there are several telephones, including one with a direct line to Moscow. All you need to do is press a key... I would guess that over the past few days it has been used a lot. Our interview had to be approved by Moscow. Until now, Polish journalists were not admitted to these offices.

"We obtained the authorization," announced Colonel Gennadiy Mikhailov, a staff officer, the night before, "since we are just as keen to show the truth as you are. We are surrounded by too many myths."

I can ask about anything to do with the stationing of the Soviet forces in Poland. I can go to any unit of my choice, watch the training routines, talk to soldiers of any nationality. Apart from strategic guidelines, the Soviet Army has no secrets. I choose Swietoszow: a tank regiment situated 120 km from Swidnica in a military complex, concealed in a forest, served by its own schools, hospitals, kindergartens, stores, and housing. "A complete military campus," as the Russians say.

The 55,000 Soviet troops in Poland (in Czechoslovakia, prior to the withdrawals, there were 75,000; in Hungary, 80,000) make up the immediate rear of the 350,000-strong Army stationed in the GDR. In what is still the GDR. Without the Northern Group the giant beyond the Odra would stand on feet of clay. But if, through some curious series of political coincidences—as one of the officers explains—Soviet troops were to withdraw from the GDR, then their division, of which the Swietoszow regiment is a part, would be the only real armored force in Southwestern Poland.

"This intelligence," he explains, contains no implications; it is just a statement of fact from a military viewpoint."

"So let us try to dispel some myths and legends," suggests Gen. Domashev.

Who Serves in Poland

The only criterion is the absence of a criminal record," he says. "You have plenty of your own hooligans without us bringing in ours as well. National servicemen are flown into Poland for two years or 18 months, provided that they have been sworn in and attained a specialization. When they board the plane they generally have no idea whether they will land in Arkhangelsk, Kamchatka, Berlin, or near Legnica."

Professional servicemen can remain in one country for up to five years (for those who know Polish, the tour of duty can be extended on exceptional grounds) before they return to the USSR. After another five years they have the opportunity of being moved to, say, the GDR, and that is the end of it. You cannot serve in more than two countries. Civilian contract employees (for example, teachers, doctors, or nurses) sign three-year contracts with an optional one-year extension.

"The rumors that we pass in turn through every European country where our troops are stationed and only return home when it is time to start collecting our pensions, are fairy tales."

The General denies that connections allegedly open doors to the lucrative service abroad. He himself began in Ulyanovsk, was next moved to near Moscow, and then to Chukotka; he subsequently served in Leningrad, Arkhangelsk, in the Baltic republics, and Odessa (where he stayed long enough to get an apartment of his own); he was in the GDR for just under one year, was then recalled to Moscow, and now he is here, in Poland. There are no guarantees that he will serve the full five years here.

A younger officer (six months in Poland) does not share the General's view. Connections are used and strings pulled all too often: Professional servicemen find that it is still worth their while (to a different degree, depending on the country) to be stationed abroad. The unofficial waiting list of those eager to go is quite long.

Lieutenant Zbignev Oleg from Donetsk (our guardian on the way to Swietoszow) knew that he would be going to Poland. At officer training college he studied the language and was trained for service in our country. Lt-Col. Igor Khromov from the Swietoszow unit, graduate of the Military Political Academy, also had no reason to fear the prospect of life in a garrison on the Chukotka Peninsula.

Is It Worth It?

The professional servicemen, from general to warrant officer, get their salary in rubles, paid into their savings accounts in the USSR (Gen. Domashev receives R600 a month; Col. Mikhailov—R400; Major Petr Kireyev, deputy commander of a tank regiment—R350; Lieutenant Oleg—R230), whereas in Poland they receive equivalent amounts in zlotys. The rate of exchange at the beginning of March was Z1400 to R1. National servicemen get from Z15,000 (rifleman) to Z32,000 (sergeant, tank commander, equivalent to our senior corporal) of army pay. Wives who go out to work are paid only in zlotys. The unofficial trade which flourishes in garrison towns often multiplies these amounts.

Professional servicemen receive army ration allocations of meat, butter, sugar, groats, bread, fish, and potatoes. They enhance and vary their diet with purchases made in either Polish or their own stores, for zlotys, at prices no different from those in our own retail outlets. They can purchase food allowances for their families, paid for in rubles at USSR prices. On the international ranking list (which is the best country to serve in?) the first two places go to Hungary and the GDR. They are the least expensive. In Poland things were not too bad when Soviet prices were converted directly into zlotys. But the disparities grew so large that it became impossible to control profiteering. Consequently, Soviet prices were adjusted to correspond to Polish prices.

Bills To Pay

The general cannot disclose the total costs of the stationing of the Soviet forces in Poland: This is still classified information. But he offers us examples. Last year the Northern Group paid R1.8 million in water and sewage disposal bills (the exchange rate is the same as for the Transfer Ruble); R5.5 million in power bills; R8.65 million for coal; R0.65 million in gas bills, and R4.5 million for leasing rent on 3,611 buildings, including 1,157 residential quarters. Professional servicemen pay rent (at the municipal rates) and their bills for gas, power, and telephones, though the latter are official service lines.

In January and February of this year, Swidnica's budget received from the "Soviet Quarter" Z5 million for refuse disposal; Z90 million for water services; Z45 million for electricity; and Z2 million for gas. In the past there were problems with receiving these payments on time, but today the mayor has no complaints. However, this does not mean that everything is absolutely fine. The leasing rents are paid into the central budget, as are other charges, while those directly concerned receive only small amounts.

In 1985 Swidnica was visited by the deputy premier, accompanied by several ministers and generals, the city's Mayor recalls, and the surprised local authorities were informed that they would have the honor of hosting the command of the Northern Group of Soviet Forces, which was moving out of Legnica. Previously, we had only four small units here. The deputy premier promised us Z1 billion from the budget for development of the city's infrastructure. By 1988 we received a little over Z500 million. Last year the Finance Minister stopped the money: The Russians will have to take part, financially and in terms of materials, in the development of the infrastructure which they use on an equal footing with us.

The bill presented to the Soviet Army for last year's expenditure in Swidnica alone came to Z890 million (at 1989 prices). The major items included the construction of a sewage treatment plant, a water intake construction, and the installation of a heating distribution network. The bill has been sent off, but to date nothing has been heard about it. The Soviet Army does not refuse to pay, but explains that there is no money in the coffers to cover this kind of expenditure. Matters of this kind should be regulated by intergovernmental agreements, just like the question of supplies.

Soviet troops are supplied with meat and basic produce through the services of the "Marco" enterprise, set up expressly for this purpose. Accounts are settled at the level of foreign trade ministries. Consequently, supplies to military units do not impinge on allocations for individual voivodships. Mayor Markiewicz admits that until recently the retail distribution network of garrison towns received additional preferential supplies: This system was supposed to protect our stores against Soviet

pressure. Now things are more straightforward: The shelves are full and they can buy as much as they want. You no longer hear complaints that there is no sausage in the stores because the Russkies bought it all up.

The 1956 treaty regulating the legal status of the Soviet forces temporarily stationed in Poland (see S. Podemski, POLITYKA 7) was two years later augmented by an executory agreement regulating the terms of the stationing, including questions of supplies and the mutual settlement of accounts. Now these documents have reached their last days. The new agreements will presumably regulate the questions of charges for the lease of the 60,000 hectares of training grounds, forests, airfields, and... hunting grounds on different terms. Until now the Russians have not paid even the symbolic zloty for these, taking advantage of the privileges of the Polish Armed Forces. However, as Podemski rightly pointed out, we are on our home ground here...

PRAVDA in Windows

The new agreements should resolve what today seems to be the most sensitive issue, that of repairs to the residential and other buildings occupied by military and civilian personnel. We have complained for a long time about the appearance of the buildings, windows, and staircases, and objected to the devastation of our property. The repertory of symbols of the Soviet forces' presence in Poland includes the image of windows in which sheets of PRAVDA are used for curtains...

"According to the terms of the agreement, the Polish side is obliged to carry out repairs to the outside of properties, but you do not do this, claiming resource shortages," insists General Domashev. "After all, we do pay our rents; despite this, we still pay for the repairs ourselves, but we are not able to maintain everything in order."

"They should do the repairs themselves, since this is a leasing rather than renting agreement," counters the mayor of Swidnica. "They pay only 50 percent of the going rate precisely so that they could use the rest of the money for the necessary repairs."

Swidnica's "Soviet Quarter" looks neat enough, the Mayor stresses. Before the headquarters arrived here, things looked really terrible, almost as bad as in Legnica: Devastated properties used by the Army were an eyesore. All this changed with the arrival of the military elite in Swidnica.

Gen. Domashev is clearly annoyed when the case of Legnica is brought up in our conversation. If I wish, he would show me all his restricted areas, so that I can compare them with the Polish part of the city. I saw two such areas: Well, they looked like all Army compounds do. Residential housing, even in civilian districts, does not differ from accepted standards. Lt-Col. Igor Khromov shows me round the civilian-military compound in Swietoszow. The facades of the buildings look gloomy, but are well-maintained, and there are no newspapers for curtains. The grounds of the all units are no different than in any other Army unit: If necessary, they paint the grass green.

All the same, Legnica remains a festering sore. Col. Gennadiy Mikhailov says that there are all sorts of people, just as anywhere else. We point our fingers at them and criticize them, but they are also surprised by many things they see. They travel through Lower Silesian villages and cannot understand how anyone could let such good properties and farm buildings fall into ruin. How can people live in such conditions?

The next day I am taken round Legnica's "Soviet Quarter". Things are fifty-fifty: Neat and decent areas lie side by side with places squalid beyond description. I then go round Legnica's Polish part, visit buildings along Chojnowska Street, staircases, back yards. If not for the Polish names on the lists of residents, you could simply have said: This is where the Russians live. In this case, do we have the right to say: But we are here on our own, home ground!?

Fear of Going Back

In a February edition of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, noted bitterly, as he wrote about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia (and he did not rule out the possibility of the same thing happening to the troops in Poland and the GDR), that the country was not prepared for the return of commissioned and warrant officers. "We will withdraw the troops, but no one has seriously thought of what this will involve. We shall feel our social problems even more acutely; officers and their families will find themselves in a situation akin to that of refugees. They will be without housing, without jobs, and their children will be without schools..."

These fears are also shared by servicemen stationed in Poland, though Gen. Domashev maintains that their concern is not as grave as that of their colleagues from the Southern Group of Forces. In the Soviet Armed Forces some 50 percent of career officers and men have no housing of their own. In the course of their professional life they are often transferred from one garrison and one service accommodation to another, thousands of kilometers to the east or west. Only those who manage to stay longer in one particular place are able to get an apartment. Until now they used to be allowed to stay longer in a garrison only for a period prior to being pensioned off, so that they could find a roof over their heads. The sudden withdrawal of troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia revealed the weaknesses of what is already a fragile system. If this were to be connected with troop reductions, thousands of officers would be left homeless with few chances to find any housing within civilian systems.

"We could sleep in tents," declares Maj. Petr Kireyev from the Swietoszow unit, "but what about our wives

and children, what about our families? There will be 20,000 children leaving alongside the troops when they withdraw from Czechoslovakia. Will there be places for them in kindergartens, in schools?"

"A special section, exclusively handling housing construction for the families of servicemen returning home, has been set up at the Defense Ministry," says Gen. Domashev. "It seems to me, although I would not like to prejudge the issue, that for the time being the Northern and Western (GDR) Groups will, at least in part, remain in their garrisons, at least until such time as we can sort out the housing for the returning men."

A Soldier's Condition

Over the last year, and during the first two months of this year, nearly 10,000 troops were withdrawn from the Northern Group and returned to the USSR. These included helicopter and tank regiments and a construction battalion. Some of their barracks were taken over by the Polish Army. Properties built before 1945 are being returned to their owner, the treasury, free of charge. Post-war properties (in Swidnica, for example, over the past few years the Russians built 1,000 apartments) are being sold to towns and parishes. In Legnica, a theatre and several dozen buildings have been handed over already. Now the inhabitants demand that the commandant's offices be handed over for the prosecutor's offices! The Soviet command objects: The adoption of a new building for the requirements of Army command would cost hundreds of thousands of rubles, whereas their Army is beginning to count every kopeck before it spends it.

On 7 March the soldiers of the Swietoszow tank regiment had the following dishes served for lunch: chicken broth (as much as they wanted), pork chops for the main course, and stewed fruit. They said it was a typical menu, no special extras to impress visitors. They are all fed generously, often better than back home in their own country. They listed the daily rations: Each day a soldier must receive half a loaf of rye bread and half a loaf of wheat bread; almost 200 grams of meat; half that amount of fish; two eggs; 500 grams of potatoes; fruit; vegetables...all in all 26 items. Each soldier gets 18 packets of cigarettes per month (these can be exchanged for sweets) and miserable army pay—which most of them save up for presents for their nearest and dearest.

In a training room they organized for us a meeting with 20 servicemen, certainly preselected, but Lt-Col. Igor Khromov assures us that this means nothing. Our men are more talkative, and they have a reasonably good command of Russian (it transpires that this is a major problem in the Soviet Army). They found out that they were going to Poland when they were already aboard the plane. We suggest that this was, presumably, not good news...?

"A soldier must serve wherever his homeland sends him!" volunteers Sergeant Konstantin Udovkin, a Belorussian, conscripted from Estonia, where he went to school.

But no one else supports him in this protestation and this belief. Life would have been easier in any corner of the USSR. Here they get no leave passes; parcels are rare; family visits out of the question; as to girlfriends, thay can only dream about them... Instead, you are obliged to maintain higher combat readiness.

Same Letters

They do not know Poland and have no chance to get to know even their immediate surroundings. All contacts are official, at commander levels, and rank-and-file soldiers can only meet their counterparts during exercises or on brief visits, made on national and state holidays, to theoretically friendly "twinned" units. Even then there is no time for anything except the "most important" item on the agenda: the group photograph—in which everyone should be happy, beaming, and, ideally, brandish a copy of the unit newsletter in his hand—and then it is back to the barracks. "Just a propaganda piece for the unit notice board," they dismiss these manifestations of friendship disdainfully. They would like to see Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, the cities which, their officers assure them, they are protecting. Perhaps they will never get an opportunity to do this...

Orzechowski on Role of Democratic Left Club

PM0504091290 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Mar 90 p 6

[Interview with Professor Marian Orzechowski, Democratic Left Parliamentary Club chairman, by POLITYKA reporter Aleksander Checko; place and date not given]

[Text] [Checko] Eight months ago the word "treason" was in the air. The "unwanted children"—as the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] parliamentary deputies were dubbed—were more seriously in conflict with the leadership of their own party than they were in opposition to Solidarity deputies. What has changed since then? What is the profile of your parliamentary deputies' club today?

[Orzechowski] True, the relationship between our parliamentary club and the PZPR Central Committee and Politburo was abnormal from the start. The initial coarse intervention by First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski—after our deputies declared themselves in favor of creating an extraordinary commission to assess the government's performance—poisoned the atmosphere until the very end. However, despite all that, I can state now from the perspective of these past few months that the club did feel a certain loyalty toward the party and it certainly did not provoke any conflicts with the Politburo and the first secretary. We did, however, insist

that deputies be granted the right to participate in the decision-making processes and to implement them with full autonomy in parliament. It is wholly surprising that, despite the dramatic reactions which followed the deputies' proposals to eliminate Article 3 of the Constitution, or to abolish the 22 July state holiday [anniversary of the 1944 July Manifesto, the official political and legislative declaration of the socialist system in Poland], the club retained its political and organizational integrity. Until the 11th Congress, only 5 of the 173 members resigned from the club.

[Checko] The abnormal link between the party leadership and the club disappeared with the dissolution of the PZPR, and it was from that time that a number of breakaway tendencies and political and ideological differences became apparent. Nevertheless, you are still lumped together. Why? Who needs the artificial unity of this club?

[Orzechowski] It is true that the club now embodies a quite extraordinary political mosaic. I do not have lists of names to hand but, according to my information, within the 166-member club 33 persons belong to Tadeusz Fiszbach's Union [Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic] and 10 more support it from outside, while some 20 members have joined the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP]. The remaining hundred have no formal party affiliation: They range from declared "true" communists to social liberals, with some of the latter oriented toward the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP], and presumably quite willing to go across and join its numbers. Whether they would be welcomed there with open arms is another question altogether.

All the same, I get the impression that a definite majority of deputies realize that the preservation of a unified front (regardless of its organizational form) is an important element of the balance of power in parliament. If this balance is upset a whole avalanche of realignment moves would ensue, with consequences which are difficult to predict but which could even include an eventual premature dissolution of the Sejm. Moreover, we must not view the processes of political differentiation as restricted to the Sejm forum alone. New political formations are today taking shape outside parliamentary structures, throughout the country. Much of what is cooking in the "parliamentary caldron" has no counterpart outside parliament, and we know very well that no Sejm group can play a major political role without commanding wider political support from the public.

Today there is much talk of the possibility of an early election. But at the same time, despite their artificial character, the existing general configuration of political forces and the division into traditional parliamentary clubs, which reflect the distribution of mandates at the roundtable conference, offer the advantages of preserving stability in the country and allowing for an effective implementation of political and economic reforms. I firmly reject the opinion that the Sejm hampers these reforms.

[Checko] But when all is said and done, are you or are you not the opposition? It would appear that you yourselves are confused on that score...

[Orzechowski] This question has been raised by us several times already. It is the Club's contention that it cannot approve the adoption of a stance of opposition to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. This is because it would drive the left wing orientation onto marginal positions. You cannot go against the will of a confirmed public majority. There is also one additional factor which still very strongly influences our behavior and sometimes results in deep frustration: Members of the former PZPR have no moral right today to stand passively in the wings and criticize everything. We were responsible for the crisis yesterday and therefore we are now responsible for taking action today—for supporting every initiative which can help Poland get back on its feet and pull itself together after the economic collapse.

[Checko] You have no program of your own. You restrict yourselves to offering support and suggesting amendments to government proposals by always saying: "Yes, but..." It is quite worrying that the largest of our parliamentary political clubs is so inactive. Do you really see no need to prepare an alternative economic program?

[Orzechowski] When we accepted the Balcerowicz program, we did so because we believed there was no sensible alternative solution. As a result, we concentrated on ensuring that adequate social guarantees were provided to ease the hardships facing working people in the most difficult transition period. This function of the club has been indicated in both the new economic acts and the amended Constitutional provision. In other words, the Club is active within the scope of its possibilities. However, these possibilities are quite severely restricted.

The most we can do is respond to given situations, rather than create new conditions by building new programs. The latter is the brief of parties and political movements. Viewed from this angle, our situation is an unenviable one. The Union is only just being formed and the SdRP is grappling with tremendous difficulties connected with sorting out the legacy inherited from the PZPR. True, the SdRP has been talking about an alternative program, but so far it is only talk. The 2 million-strong PZPR collapsed like a house of cards. Overnight we became a club without an infrastructure— without an organizational, technical, or financial infrastructure. In contrast to the OKP, which finds itself buttressed by a massive backup team of advisers and collaborators—this being the natural consequence of the confidence placed in it by the public—we have to rely on ourselves alone. I also feel considerable apprehension when I think of, say, the approaching local self-government elections: I do not see

any preparations for them on our part and I think it is quite likely that we may suffer a resounding defeat in them.

[Checko] However, on the other side, the OKP is also going through a difficult time when it comes to establishing their club's identity. You can distinctly recognize left wing tendencies and left wing groups within it. What do you think about the possibility of breaking free of the traditional party and political club alignments expressly in order to create a joint left wing program together?

[Orzechowski] Looking closely at the possible future of the "left wing" orientation, I am not, after all, an optimist. The left wing orientation in Poland is in the most difficult position of all, since it is still firmly associated with the PZPR, whose image is thoroughly compromised in the eyes of the public.

[Checko] You yourself held high positions in its top leadership echelon for quite a long time...

[Orzechowski] Yes, and though I am not a party member now and do not belong to any of the new political groups, I view 27 January—the first day of the party congress—as one of the worst defeats of the Polish left. It was a day of wasted opportunities and of defeat for the reformist movement, which had been active in the party for years and which won a victory at the 10th Plenum.

[Checko] Well, how did you imagine it would be? Did you think that the so-called "hardliners" would take umbrage at the social democrats and leave the debating hall?

[Orzechowski] No. I thought that the breakup would occur in a way that would allow all participants to leave the hall together. Today the onus of the conservative movement falls to the SdRP as a whole, and though today the left wing is not restricted to the SdRP, the Union, or to J. Lipski's Polish Socialist Party [PPS], but also embraces ecologicaly, youth, and other emancipatory movements, I still cannot see them as having any substantial chance in the next parliamentary election, even if they decide to stand in the elections together. This a bad time for the left in Poland, and much more time will have to pass before its chances can be translated into an electoral success.

All the same, I think that today, at a time when the traditional, customary notions defining political affiliation are disappearing around us, it is all the more important to find a shared thread of understanding between various parliamentary and extraparliamentary forces. We are now awaiting local self-government elections, a debate on the Sejm electoral procedure, a new Constitution, and a debate on Poland's future in the changed international situation. All these require that we be directed by reason and common sense and that we aim to achieve an agreement like the one we have now.

[Checko] It has been announced that Democratic Left Parliamentary Club leadership elections will take place at the end of March. Are you going to stand?

[Orzechowski] I still have a few days to make up my mind about it. Some weeks ago I declared my readiness to be at the Club's disposal.

[Checko] Thank you for talking to us.

Daily Assesses Commercialization of TV

AU0104161590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Mar 90 p 2

[Jacek Lutomski report: "A Black Picture on the TV"]

[Text] "A certain kolkhoz held a meeting, which had two points on its agenda: 1) to build a new stable; 2) to build communism. The kolkhoz chairman said: Because we have no planks and nails, let us immediately proceed to the second point."

This was the anecdote quoted by Andrzej Drawicz, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, during an interview with a RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter. He considered it a very appropriate illustration of the situation inside his committee. After all, it is difficult to talk of future plans for television when no one even knows if there will be enough money with which to pay its employees.

It is not without reason that 1990 has been described at the studios in Woronicz Street as a year of accumulating difficulties, chiefly financial ones. The Radio and Television Committee will be over 250 million zlotys short. Its income is falling because of a reduction in the number of licensed television and radio sets (causing a loss of Z41 billion); money it is owed but still has not received (causing a loss of Z50 billion); increased royalties payable to others (causing a loss of Z22 billion) and, most of all, an increase in the number of viewers entitled to a reduction in their license fee (causing a loss of Z63 billion). As if a total loss of income amounting to Z176 billion was not enough, expenses have risen by Z79 billion at the same time. This increase has been brought on by the rising prices of goods and services, increased depreciation costs, and increased social security premiums for employees.

And yet, all Chairman Drawicz hears in reply to his suggestions is "no." There will be no subsidies, there will be no separate Radio and Television Fund, there is no question of increasing license fees, and the Senate commission is opposed to the commercialization and privatization of radio and television. It looks as if the television kolkhoz has found itself in a blind alley.

"I agree that the situation may appear dramatic at first glance, but it is not really that bad", says Chairman Drawicz with his usual calmness. "Indeed, restrictions have been imposed on us because of a reduced income out of the state budget and the need to find our own solutions that conform to the spirit of free enterprise and

the Balcerowicz plan. We have no doubt that the decision we took in 1986 to finance radio and television, mainly out of license fees, with certain subsidies out of the state budget, was correct. However, a lot has changed throughout the entire economy since then. The budget cannot send us out on the streets begging, and there is no need for us to do so, but because everything is highly unstable, and we are a component of the state economy, the authorities should understand us better. Unfortunately, we have not encountered this understanding in the Finance Ministry."

A loud "no" is also the answer that was given to any attempts at commercialization, even to suggestions about it. The Senate commission objected to the partial commercialization of the second television program.

"The world may fall apart, but television has to exist," jokes Chairman Drawicz. "I think we will be able to convince the public that at least partial commercialization is essential. We will already be able to see the effects of this next year. Apart from that, after presenting an honest and objective report, we will manage to win the support of certain parliamentary bodies for our efforts to win government subsidies for specific purposes. This money will enable us to survive a particularly difficult time. Next, we must gain approval to increase license fees to Z6,500 per month as of April. We must convince our viewers that this is no more than the price of a few cinema tickets, to say nothing of concert tickets. We put on several films and shows each evening."

"Economizing measures in radio and television are supposed to be another way of breaking the financial deadlock," Drawicz continued. "This problem is arousing the greatest amount of emotion. It is generally known that other European television stations with a similar level of programming employ fewer people than we do. Investigations have already reached the internal consultation stage, and one can expect the government to examine the proposed solutions soon. However, structural changes are a drawn-out process, so it is difficult to expect any economic effects in the first half of the year. But even so, this savings program may bring us between Z102 and Z186 billion, which means that the studios in Woronicz Street are short at least Z100 billion."

"Government subsidies are all that are left to us," Drawicz admits. "They will help finance our shortages this year. One must remember that we are in a transitional period, in terms of the economy and in terms of television. These two factors are joined together. For instance, one can calculate exactly how much the demand for commercials is increasing in relation to the increase in production. But this entire mechanism has to function, and it is difficult to expect television to be the first fully efficient institution. We are not suffering from any complex by asking for money, because we have not wasted anything, and have not been throwing money about."

"Alongside general recovery measures, the Radio and Television Committee is also working on general financial and structural solutions for radio and television. It is being suggested that public control of radio and television should be exercised by a nine-member supervisory board composed of the president and representatives of the government and parliament. Within this general structure there will also be room for a kind of television parliament—an approximately 30-member national programming board that would decide about fundamental principles and directions for radio and television operations. We can also expect regional centers to acquire a significant degree of independence.

"Everyone has been speaking on behalf of society in the whole storm that has been raging over the Radio and Television Committee for the past few weeks. People have been bandying about views to the effect that society has had enough of the slow pace of change. However, according to opinion polls conducted by the Center for Public Opinion research, there has been a 25-percent increase in the extent to which people trust television, and almost 60 percent of those polled approve of the changes that have been made by the new leadership."

A. Drawicz says: "I am far from inclined to say that I am the only one who is right. However, there is a lot of approval for our course of instituting changes in an evolutionary way, and then there are the reports produced by the specialist research center. Nevertheless, I think that all this bandying around of public opinion in speeches is excessive, and it is an argument that is cited too readily."

Solidarity Weekly Views Independence

AU0604145590 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 30 Mar 90 pp 1, 16

[Krzysztof Czabanski article: "Independence First"]

[Text] In 1990, at a time when the Soviet bloc is disintegrating, the idea of Polish independence is no longer wishful thinking. Nevertheless, independence is not automatic. It requires considerable effort and planning. Most of all, it requires courage.

The Dismantling of an Empire

The rule of the Soviet empire over Poland was implemented by the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], the Army, Security Service, National Defense Committee, communications services, transportation services, etc. Except for the disappearance of the PZPR, not all that much has changed. All the major instruments of the Soviets are still operational. Therefore, the winning of independence must begin with the dismantling of the old power structure. This would be straightforward if one were to stage a violent revolution, but that would be wrong because historical experience shows that any revolution, any changes achieved by violent means, are doomed to fail. Therefore, this dismantling must occur

by gradual means, whereby the new power structure should take advantage of features of the old power structure.

For instance, one must not alter the profile of the Security Service just by renaming it the State Protection Office. What one can do is create a brand new institution and staff it with valuable employees from other state services. This problem is even clearer in the Armed Forces, where one should be very careful with the entire officer corps. Instead of brashly calling for the replacement of the entire officer corps (with whom?), one should create conditions for the promotion of younger officers and see to it that the Army and National Defense Committee are controlled by civilians (with a civilian defense minister and civilian administrative-consultative apparatus).

In any case, there is no single course of action. It all depends on what we are dealing with. The Security Service requires one course of action (downright dissolution), the Army another (gradual modification), and transportation and communications services yet another (the total elimination of old power structures, the provision of new people drawn from one's own ranks, and the introduction of modern Western systems). In a word, we should proceed cautiously, but forward, remembering that the old power structure can quickly regenerate itself unless we deprive it of reinforcements from the USSR. Here, the rebirth of any form of communism or totalitarianism (i.e. under the banner of Social Democracy) is not as dangerous as the perpetuation of our situation in an empire in this very part of Europe at our own request.

Subjective and Objective Restrictions

In a political sense, we continue to be at a very dangerous juncture. For the first time in decades, we have the chance of conducting policies that are Polish in every single respect, but this might end up with the new governing team merely pursuing old policies; in other words, the old philosophies and structures might be provided with an artificial banner of credibility. Notice what has been happening. Our reaction to Kohl's reluctance to recognize the Oder-Neisse border has been to wish that the Russians might remain in Poland; we do not wish to leave CEMA, even though we would like to join the EEC (but practically without any chance of doing so before 2000; the country's new defense policy has been adopted not by the parliament, but by the National Defense Committee. Yes, the National Defense Committee has reaffirmed our membership in the Warsaw Pact and placed us in the situation of an opponent of the NATO countries! We ourselves are doing the very thing that we used to consider an attack on the Polish nation. Daniel Passent wrote in the No. 9 issue of POLITYKA: "Either we want the Russians to consider it advantageous for Poland to take part in the two-plus-four talks in defense of our borders, or we want them to treat us as a neutral neighbor with whom they want proper relations." I fear "our government" is falling into the trap portrayed by Passent. Why should we be afraid of the Russians no longer defending our borders? (By the way, the idea of the Russians "defending our borders" is a very curious figment of the mind!). I cannot aunderstand why Passent is so afraid of the alternative scenario; in other words, neutral, proper, good-neighborly relations between Poland and the Soviets. I think this is what we should strive toward, good-neighborly relations, but with every single country. Not just with Russia, but with Czechoslovakia and Germany as well. If this succeeds, then one can raise the temperature of neighborly feelings to mutual advantage.

Our limitations are not brought on by the above factors alone, but also by the fact that Polish politics has been created jointly by the old and new power structures together, on the basis of compromise. By the nature of things, a compromise always favors that which is already old and well-established, not that which is new and is striving to establish itself. Therefore, generally speaking, the situation so far is favorable for the empire. In the present situation, new things are being created all the time, but nothing is disintegratingg (highly enlightening is the creation of the office of president of the USSR, whereas from the point of view of Polish independence, we are interested in either the disintegration of or our exit from the empire).

All right, but these are all brash slogans. We will not build Polish politics, including foreign policy, if we do not have an efficient economy first.

To put it in brutal terms, unless we decide on a radical political acceleration, I see no chance of a change in our status as a colony of the East. If the empire were to disintegrate, we would immediately become a colony of the West with all our backwardness, but I very much doubt it will.

Do We Have A Chance?

That depends on what we do. If it is true, and there is nothing to indicate that it is not, that the Soviets have agreed to a transformation of their empire on account of their failed economy, and, faced with the Americans, they now have to urgently find ways of halting the arms race, which they have failed to do by means of various pacifist movements and by extending the disarmament talks, then the only thing left for them is to convert military doctrine into a purely defensive one. Then the Soviets will not need buffer states as much as Ambassador Brovikov has suggested.

If the above assumption is correct, the main battle will be fought in the economic sphere. If we continue to delay with privatization, giving foreign markets access to Poland, and adapting ourselves to the EEC, we will remain where we are; in other words, a USSR colony. In such a situation, we should not seek an accord with CEMA or the Warsaw Pact, but boldly play the Western card, even if that means becoming the Gastarbeiters [German word for guest workers] of Europe. Please do not talk of national honor and dignity. Just take a sober

look at our situation, our misery, and our chances. Let *him who wants to go east go east. I do not want to.*

That is why I consider the Polish defense doctrine, recently adopted by the National Defense Committee, unacceptable. In it, we read: "In case of war, suitable operational groups are to be formed out of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland. These remain under national command and act within the framework of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Member States."

By the way, at this point one ought to reconsider the historically understandable fact that Poland should prevent a Russian alliance with Germany because such an alliance has never done Poland any good. Stefan Kisielewski wrote recently in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (No. 9): "Yes, I believe in Gorbachev's good will and peaceful intentions, but I also know that he is a Russian patriot and is not bent on suicide. His fate and that of Russia and 'perestroyka' depend on economic reform, and after 70 years of archcommunism and an economy geared to war, that is a very difficult matter. In the work of rebuilding the economy, why not eventually avail oneself of the assistance of a rich, united Germany, giving Germany in exchange 'unimportant' regions of Western Pomerania or the port of Szczecin?"

For a German-Russian rapprochement will not end with another partition of Poland, because today is not the time for armed incursions. Of course I may be wrong, but if I am, then the whole of today's Europe, in fact the whole of the world, would disintegrate. If that happens, nothing can save us in any case. It is naive to think that by being friendly with the USSR, we will prevent Russian-German friendship. We are not concerned with upsetting Russo-German relationships by means of a clever ploy, but with establishing for ourselves a strong, sovereign position. We must notice that our short period of independence during the past 200 years has been based on a clear isolation both from Germany and from Russia. This strategy failed in a world in which armed force comes before politics, but that need not necessarily happen in future. For if we assume, and any other assumption places a question mark over the rationality of any politics, that it is not war that will determine Europe's future, then we must side neither with Russia nor with Germany, because both these countries will want to dominate us. That is natural. Therefore we must keep away from them, which does not mean we should be against them. We should keep a distance, and be an independent country.

The question is, can we afford that? That is a variation on the theme of the question of our chances.

What To Do?

We can enter Western Europe (the EEC) only through the political door. We have no choice, because the West is our only economic chance. That is good, and is politically attractive, because it involves the fulfillment of democratic ideals. Therefore we should speed up the political changes in Poland because only free parliamentary elections, a general presidential election, and a system of power that has been established democratically, and not decided "somewhere above", can help in our application to join the family of Europe. In any case, our appeals to have our debts rescinded for the sake of new credits for Poland will sound more credible and will make greater sense. If the West wants more allies, it may agree to pay some of the costs involved. The Russians built their empire by military conquests. The West could expand the zone of democracy by purchasing individual countries out of their bondage. In any case, that would make greater sense than giving the Soviets credits and helping them survive the worst times. It would seem that Kohl has adopted the principle of purchase vis-a-vis the GDR. The West ought to be interested in tugging Poland into the orbit of capitalist economy, but on one condition—the West must not fear that a camouflaged empire is holding out its hand for alms.

Of course, the West is also likely to pay the empire in order to feel secure. In this scenario, we do not stand much of a chance.

What would this political acceleration look like? I have already written in recent months that it would be the logical thing to hold free parliamentary elections soon, as well as presidential ones that would make Walesa president and make parliament represent genuine political and social interests. However, free parliamentary elections call for the development of political parties beforehand. A repetition of the "Solidarity" Civic Committees would be suicidal for democracy. But for the time being, one sees no room for the development of political parties. All the room is taken up by the present president-premier-Citizens' Parliamentary Club triangle of power. This arrangement has a tendency to be self-perpetuating, and does not consider itself transitional (which it should do in order to pave the way for free parliamentary elections), because each of the three corners of the triangle is overrepresented. Following free elections, each one would be in a worse position. The president would disappear altogether, the premier does not have his own party, and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club would disintegrate into several parties. Therefore it is natural for this arrangement to perpetuate itself. But in that case, it is difficult to make any changes from the bottom, so all that is left is to introduce stimuli from the top. Walesa's candidature for president would be such a stimulus. I think this would be the prelude to Poland's independence. How do I imagine this independence can be achieved?

Walesa for President

Walesa must not be a make-believe president. That might happen if Walesa became president as a result of an accord with the old power apparatus (Jadwiga Staniszkis claims, and not without justification, that PZPR hardliners themselves are pushing Walesa to be president), or as a result of a shift in social values coupled with a failure by society to gain control over the real

centers of power (the Army, Police, etc). In the meantime, a President Walesa could speed up Poland's march toward independence only if he were the real ruler, or if he gradually but steadily gained control over the whole power system in Poland. Is that possible? Walesa's latest meeting with military cadres shows that it is.

At the same time, President Walesa would change the Jaruzelski-Mazowiecki-Geremek arrangement that has developed. This should create room for independent political parties, though one must expect that the president's own party, with a hazy political identity like the prewar Nonparty Bloc for Cooperation with the Government, would win major importance. "Solidarity's" Citizens' Committees are steering in this direction.

Some people think it is better that Jaruzelski remain president during this transitional period, as they call it. First because Jaruzelski enjoys the empire's confidence, and second because he enjoys real power.

But what does a "transitional period" mean? How long is it meant to last, and what is it leading to? I think this is a cautious scenario which many politicians favor. They assume we have no chance of independence, and that the most we can expect is a favorable transformation of the empire and a better place in it. That is why they are banking on Russia, on "perestroyka." That is why they do not want to harm Gorbachev. They ignore the fact that at last we have a historic chance of tearing ourselves away from the East—and experience tells us that that is worth any price—and the fact that wooing Gorbachev will quickly lead to a clash between the "Solidarity-ruled authorities" and society, especially with disaffected young people. There are already disturbing signs of that. The slowness of political and economic change is not creating any chances and prospects for the young people. Appeals on their own are not enough, however noble they are. Young people want specifics. Only a vision of an independent Poland is such a specific. Therefore I would prefer the militant scenario: Let us try to fight for independence and get away from the empire. If we fail, not much will change. If we succeed, then economically things might also be not much different, and we may also remain the economic Cinderella of Europe (and probably will, too). But at least we will be a part of Europe, not Asia.

Sejm Votes To Reorganize Interior Ministry

LD0604222890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] The program of this morning's Sejm debate was fascinating. The problems under discussion arouse society's emotions after many years of silence and immunity surrounding them. Bills were proposed on the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW]; the State Protection Office [Urzad Ochrony Panstwa—UOP] and the police. As Sejm Deputy Speaker Tadeusz Fiszbach said, the discussion will go on late into the evening. There are many comments, observations, and proposals, including that by Deputy Rokita, that the Office should leave gloomy Rakowiecka Street, which is a symbol of the past 45 years.

In addition, as of tomorrow there will be a police force in Poland and the era of jokes about militiamen will come to an end.

The debate on Wiejska Street [in the Sejm] was accompanied by a picket by a group of people living on the Stara Milosna housing estate. They demanded the revocation of decisions halting work.

Meanwhile, deputies discussed bills reforming the MSW. It is to be the supreme organ controlling the police, the UOP, the fire brigade and border guards. Cutbacks are planned in the numbers employed by the ministry and also the employment of civilians on the basis of the regulations for state employees. The UOP would oversee intelligence and counterintelligence activities. The bill providing for militiamen automatically to become policemen was passed. Security service [SB] functionaries, who remained in its ranks on 31 July 1989, will have their contract of employment dissolved as soon as the UOP is organized.

The Sejm also heard a letter from President Wojciech Jaruzelski, appealing for 22 July to be retained as a state holiday.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1705 GMT on 6 April adds the following: "At 1705 GMT the Sejm almost unanimously adopted a bill restoring the old national day of 3 May. In a separate vote, the house decided to abolish the 22 July National Renaissance Day by 182 votes against 56, with 39 abstentions.

"The Sejm then went into a debate on certain aspects of health service legislation"]

State Confiscates Party Buildings, Assets

LD0604190490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] We have received a statemen from the Government Press Office.

In view of the public interest in the assets of political parties—the former PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], the SD [Democratic Party], the former ZSL [United Peasant Party]—and youth organizations, and in connection with inaccurate reports appearing on this subject, the Government Press Office explains that, as a result of the work of the government commission for determining the legal status of the political parties' and youth organizations' assets, and the recovery of state assets, the following decisions were reached: —From the assets of the former PZPR, 1,866 of its 1,900 buildings and premises have been taken over by the state treasury. —From the assets of the Democratic Party, 445 of its 450 buildings and premises have been taken over by the state treasury.

—From the assets of the former ZSL, 1,516 of its approximately 1,550 buildings and premises have been taken over by the state treasury.

—From the assets of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], 650 of its 660 buildings and premises have been taken over by the state treasury.

—In the case of the assets of the ZMW (Union of Rural Youth), administrative decisions were overturned and leasing agreements were revoked in respect to all of its 169 premises.

—In the case of the assets of the ZHP (Polish Scout Union), all of the 459 buildings and premises used by it have been assigned for the use of all Scouting movement factions.

—From the assets of the ZSP (Polish Student's Union), 13 of its 15 buildings and premises have been taken over by the state treasury.

The commission decided that the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland], the SD, and the PSL-Odrodzenie [Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth] can apply for the administrative allocation of one premise of up to 350 square meters in each voivodship. Appropriate premises for these organizations are to be allocated to them by local bodies of state administration.

In respect to the fixed assets that are notarized property of the political parties and youth organizations and continue to be held by them or by parties or organizations that have taken over their titles to these, the commission did not have the power to evaluate the legal validity of the notary acts that establish the ownership of the fixed assets. In instances where there are doubts regarding these issues, proceedings will be taken up in accordance with procedures provided under the law. In four instances, investigative proceedings have already been started.

That was a statement by the Government Press Office.

Poll Shows NSF With 57 Percent Support

AU0704145590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0905 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/4/1990—The first poll organized by the Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Polling at the end of March when 6,000 people were questioned, the results of which are published in today's issue of "ADEVARUL," shows:

57 percent of those polled declared for the NSF [National Salvation Front], 17 percent for the NLP [National Liberal Party], five percent for the Ecologist Movement, four percent for the CD-NPP [Christian Democratic National Peasant Party], one percent for the SDP [Social Democratic Party] and one percent for other parties. Irrespective of their own opinion 67 percent of those polled expect the NSF to get the largest number of votes in the 20 May elections.

Significant is the general reticence to adhering to a political party. Only seven percent have adhered to a party.

According to the poll, public opinion has a better impression of the government than of the present parliament.

At the same time, of the 14 public persons mentioned in the questionnaire Petre Roman and Ion Iliescu have the largest number of points 7.8 and 7.7 respectively on a ten-point scale. They are followed by Ion Caramitru 6.4, Sergiu Celac 6.2, Victor Stanculescu 5.9, Radu Campeanu and Gelu Voican 5.3, Cazimir Ionescu 5.0, Mihai Chitac 4.6, Toma George Maiorescu 3.7, Karol Kiraly and Sergiu Cunescu 3.2 and Corneliu Coposu 2.0.

Noteworthy is the obvious tendency towards optimism as regards the evolution of the situation in Romania.

Iliescu Opens NSF Conference 7 Apr

AU0704134890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] The first nationwide conference of the National Salvation Front [NSF] began this morning. The conference is attended by more than 1,000 delegates and gues's from the country's counties and Bucharest Municipality.

After observing a moment of silence in memory of the heroes of the revolution, Mr. Ion Iliescu, who opened the conference proceedings, emphasized the importance of this conference—the first nationwide NSF conference—which is called upon to structure the broad revolutionary movement of December 1989 as a political formation.

The speaker also emphasized the role of the Front from the very first day of the revolution when it established the principles of the country's democratization by bearing the brunt at that difficult time for the whole nation and proving its political potential.

NSF Platform 'Only True Alternative'

AU0704184290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1755 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—The National Salvation Front [NSF] is the emanation of the December 1989 revolution, Mr Ion Iliescu told the opening session of the all-country conference of this political organization. "The Front is a just-born political movement which has a clear option on the future it wishes and proposes to Romania for this close of the century and the beginning of the third millennium," he stressed.

Speaking about the Front's political programme, he showed that it is "a package of realistic solutions which makes the National Salvation Front a modern political factor with a perspective." He emphasized that the Front started the process of demolition of the old structures, that it was not seeking political monopoly, that it stood for political pluralism, that it had opened the doors to the market economy. The Front has not only proclaimed communism dead, it also dismantled it, and the fact that it is suspected and publicly criticised is the evidence of the freedom of opinion.

Then, Mr Ion Iliescu dwelt at length on certain points of the National Salvation Front's platform-programme which he said is "the only true alternative for the Romanian people."

Continuing its work, the NSF conference decided that a 71 member Steering Council be elected by secret ballot. It was unanimously decided that the organ should include the chairmen of the NSF organizations in Romania's 40 counties and the city of Bucharest. 34 nominations were made for the remaining 30 seats.

Assesses Goals, Ties With Hungary

AU0704183690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 7 Apr 90

["Mr Ion Iliescu's Press Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—Meeting Romanian and foreign journalists at a press conference that marked the first national conference of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Mr Ion Iliescu underscored that the Front had assumed a great responsibility after 22 December in consideration of Romania's inherited economic, social and cultural problems, as well as state of tension and confrontation in every respect. "The Front," he said "has been working. It has been building. Until now it has built its organizational structures around the country and is holding its first national conference as a conclusion of its work."

Answering a question set by a Transylvanian journalist, the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] president said: "Transylvania is a part of the country, and any Romanian thinks, with the heart as well as with the mind, about Transylvania as about the questions of the

country." Showing that "the question of inter-ethnic relations is a complex one" the speaker showed that "our hope is that the road we have been going on is the road of true democracy, apt to put the conditions in place to solve this problem as well, in the interests of all the citizens of the country. Our people is a generous people that has always lived together with all those who were born and lived here, and even with those who came here."

On the planned Bush-Gorbachev meeting, Mr Ion Iliescu said that "meetings between statesmen are always welcome, and the meetings of the heads of the two superpowers have a special political significance; their previous meetings were constructive steps toward an improved international climate, in spite of the political tension that has built up in Europe and East European countries more particularly. I think that this one can also make a positive contribution to the political climate and we welcome it hopefully."

On Romania's position externally, the speaker said that immediately after the revolution, Romania was praised by almost all the countries, by public opinion in its entirety, but that eventually criticism was leveled at the country and its leadership, fuelled in part also by "actions of representatives of political forces inside the country which, for political reasons, tried to spread the idea that the National Salvation Front allegedly set a monopoly on power, that it tried to restore the old system, to favour its exponents, an idea that was taken over by the press of a certain orientation; the events in Transylvania also had a great influence; in connection with them the ruling circles in Hungary and the Hungarian emigration had carried on a busy activity which was taken as such by the international press, said the speaker. We have however realized that things have changed, that people began to take a more lucid view of the events, and this applies as much to governmental circles as to a good part of the mass media, to the effect that "these are Romania's domestic problems and were even critical of the insistence with which Hungary raised the problem in international meetings." A contribution to that was made also by the information supplied to the countries of Europe and outside it by the Government of Romania and the Romanian representatives at various international gatherings" added Mr Ion Iliescu.

Iliescu Receives NSF Nomination for President

AU0804124390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1011 GMT 8 Apr 90

["Party Life: NSF All-Country Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/4/1990—The result of the vote for the National Salvation Front's [NSF] organs were announced during the Front's conference Sunday 8 April. The 71-member NSF Coordination Council elected Mr. Ion Iliescu NSF president. Five vice-presidents were also elected.

Proposals were then made to amend the NSF Statute in order to ensure the Coordination Council's operative action until the election. A five-member Secretariat has replaced the General Secretaryship. At the end of the work, participants agreed to change the name of the leading body of the National Salvation Front to Steering Collegium. The Front's Statute and platform-programme were adopted, to which the executive bodies will add the proposals made during the debate, the NSF all-country conference issued a proclamation to the nation.

At the end of the conference, Ion Iliescu, president of the NSF Steering Collegium, made a speech.

Vice Presidents Elected; Anti-NSF Rally

AU0804142790 Paris AFP in Engish 1347 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, April 8 (AFP)—Interim Romanian President Ion Iliescu was elected president of the ruling National Salvation Front here Sunday a day after it nominated him as its candidate for the country's May 20 presidential elections. The Front's inaugural congress, on its final day, opted for a collective party secretariat rather than a powerful secretary-general. Five vice-presidents, hitherto unknown, were also elected.

Prime Minister Petre Roman was removed from the list of potential senior party officials on Saturday after Mr. Iliescu said that he was "far too occupied with the affairs of government" to be concerned with those of the party. Political observers said Mr. Iliescu appeared to be in complete control of the party apparatus. [passage omitted]

Members of the secretariat, clearly selected in advance, were: Bogdan Patrascu, responsible for party organisation, Adrian Nastase, spokesman, Mrs. Florica Dumitrescu, Constantin Ivanovici and Vasile Vacaru.

Mr. Iliescu's election to the head of the front was warmly acclaimed by the 700 front delegates. He is already president of the Provisional Council of National Union, or parliament.

The congress closed with an appeal to Romanians to work to "build a modern society, open to the 21st century and capable of reinscribing Romania in contemporary history." It called on Romanians to join in an open and constructive dialogue based on the ideals of the December revolution which overthrew dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. "A total and irrevocable break with the communist system and its ideology is essential to achieve this objective," it said. The Front aimed to install a democratic and pluralist system in Romania, it said.

Delegates later attended a rally in the centre of Bucharest where between 5,000 and 7,000 people turned out to support the NSF.

A few miles (kilometers) away, about 2,000 people attended a regular Sunday rally against the government

and the NSF which they accuse of being dominated by the communists and of having "hijacked the Revolution." In addition to "down with Iliescu" and "down with communism" banners, demonstrators announced the creation of an "association of future political prisoners."

No incidents were reported by mid-afternoon, but a large contingent of security forces were deployed near the rival demonstrations to avoid clashes. [passage omitted]

NSF Proclamation Outlines Political Platform

AU0804143590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1251 GMT 8 Apr 90

["NSF Proclamation to the Nation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/4/1990—A proclamation issued by the National Salvation Front [NSF] shows that this movement sets to achieve a democratic multiparty political system, build a modern and efficient economy, and revive national culture. A complete and irreversible break with the communist system and its ideology is a basic precondition for the attainment of these targets.

The following are the lines of action that the NSF as a centre-left movement proposes for the building of a modern, prosperous society open to the future:

Pluralist political options, opinions and beliefs; the creation of political parties and free trade unions; extensive promotion and full observance of the fundamental human rights and liberties, including respect for the rights of ethnic minorities with no discriminations or privileges; laying the basis for a state of law founded on social equity, on the separation of powers with political leaders elected for one or two terms at most; restoring the Romanian Army to its status and strengthening its prestige; transition, in such conditions as can ensure the country's sociopolitical stability, from the current centrally planned to a liberalized decentralized system based on market economy; broadening and diversifying the private sector of the national economy; maintenance of the state ownership of large enterprises in areas of national interest; encouraging foreign investment but protecting the national market, chiefly the work force market; the restoration of individual farmsteads and land ownership commensurate with the owner's potential to till it; limiting by law the possibilities of accumulating landholdings or of speculating in land; assisting associated and cooperative farms as free producers organizations that can make their own decisions free from the interference of the administration; maintaining the state farms that proved to be viable; abolishing the state monopoly on foreign trade; avoiding a burdensome foreign debt; better supplies of food, clothing, and consumer goods, and diversified services; meeting the necessary household energy, fuel, and hot water demands; increasing the number of new homes; guaranteeing an income minimum; a 40-hour work week; unemployment benefits at the guaranteed income minimum level; reorganizing the social services for children, physically and mentally handicapped, senior citizens more particularly; free basic medical services and the modernization of medical institutions; and an end to heavy working conditions for women, diversified services to save time and effort spent on household chores; improving the network of creches and kindergartens; protection given to young families; renunciation of paternalistic practices of organising the youths' leisure time; free and undiscriminatory access to education of all grades; talent selection and promotion through scholarships in the country and abroad; a coherent national school and professional guidance system; higher-schools autonomy; a new law on education; a new status for the teaching staff and research workers; the development and use of microelectronics, information science, automation and communications in the whole of society; the dissemination of national cultural values in the world; broader contacts with the world's cultural life; autonomy for creative activities and state subsidies.

NSF Election Rally Held in Bucharest 8 Apr

AU0804124590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1050 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/4/1990—In Bucharest's Aviatorilor (Airmen's) Square more than 10,000 demonstrators carrying placards and chanting slogans have gathered in a rally called by the National Salvation Front [NSF].

Roses—the electoral emblem of the Front—can be seen everywhere.

Iliescu Says NSF To Renovate 'All Spheres'

AU0804161590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 8 Apr 90

["Ion Iliescu a Candidate for Romania's Presidency"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/4/1990—Ion Iliescu's nomination for the free presidential elections due on 20 May was announced at a NSF [National Salvation Front] rally held on Sunday 8 April in Bucharest. Taking the floor, Mr. Iliescu said: "At the start of the election campaign, NSF comes before the country with a concrete programme of renovation in all spheres, in economic, social and political life; openness to the future is its hallmark. It calls on all walks of life and defends the interests of all the citizens of the country. The Front's programme of economic revival and development appeals to the working population of this country, it addresses the interests of all its citizens," he said.

"Competence and value will be governance criteria" was proposed as a motto for the NSF.

"We believe that the National Salvation Front is a movement that really wants free elections, that wants to

get to these free elections without attempting destabilization. We want truly free elections. We have nothing to be afraid of," Prime Minister Petre Roman said in his address.

1.30 p.m.—the rally ends with an invitation to a stroll across the park of Herastrau. The crowd of over 15,000 NSF members and supporters split up, with some of them entering the park as others were heading home.

Iliescu Comments on New Intelligence Service

LD0804194190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Peter Marvanyi report from Bucharest]

[Text] At 1300, in the largest square of the capital, about 10,000 Front supporters greeted Iliescu and Roman, who were coming directly from the national meeting of the National Salvation Front, with a great ovation. Iliescu was elected there as president of the governing body of the Front.

At the afternoon news conference he was asked if this office is compatible with the other, the presidency of the Provisional National Unity Council; that is, the Presidency of parliament. Iliescu replied that as a founding member of the Front he must side with this political organization.

In reply to questions, he said that although Bessarabia and Bukovina have many Romanian inhabitants, the question of borders is not appropriate to raise; both are part of the Soviet Union.

Romanian journalists raised the case of Deputy Minister Dan Petrescu, who the Vatra Romaneasca would like to get dismissed from the government because of his derogatory statement about the Vatra made in Budapest. Prime Minister Petre Roman said the case is under investigation. I am quoting: The Romanian Government has never yet made an over hasty decision. We don't want this to happen now either.

Iliescu stated that after Marosvarhely [Tirgu Mures] antistate activities had greatly increased, that they had to set up a new intelligence service, security service, which, however, unlike the Securitate, could not arrest anybody.

In connection with King Michael's visit, he declared the former ruler will visit Romania in a private capacity. There is no question of restoring the monarchy. No serious political force in the country wishes this.

Iliescu Says NSF Not 'Social Democracy'

AU0804172690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1607 GMT 8 Apr 90

["Ion Iliescu's Press Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/4/1990—The proclamation of Timisoara has many positive things in common with the NSF [National Salvation Front] platform of 22 December, with the fundamental aim of the revolution, but it also has accents reflecting the influence of the start of the electoral campaign, [such as the call for] the nonelection to chairmanship [presidency] of former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] ranking members. This has nothing in common with the revival of political life in Romania, with the right to elect and be elected. It is an antidemocratic formulation because there are four million of ex-party members, and more millions of Communist Youth Union members, said Mr. Ion Iliescu, newly elected NSF chairman and president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] at a press conference Sunday afternoon.

The National Salvation Front is a young political movement born in the heat of the revolution, Mr. Iliescu said, with a membership close to one million. Its inner cohesion is not very strong, but the electoral platform that its all-country conference adopted has drawn a large number of supporters. NSF is a centre-left movement which does not identify itself with social democracy, even though their political platforms do have things in common.

Coalition with other parties will be a question after elections, said Mr. Iliescu. However, NSF does not rule out cooperation with other parties even if it gets a parliamentary majority.

The absence of an information office was found to be bad for the Romanian state, Mr. Iliescu said. Very many internal and international information networks have become active, so the PNUC Executive Bureau has come to the conclusion that a Romanian information service must be set up, but it should be totally different from what it had been before the revolution.

In answer to a question on the upcoming visit of Romania's ex-monarch, Mr. Iliescu said that the visit and the restoration of monarchy in Romania are two different things. The constitutional principle in the 22 December proclamation says Romania is a republic. The future parliament will make the new constitution and with the exception of two smaller parties I could not hear too many political parties opting for monarchy, the president said.

Iliescu, Roman News Conference on Current Issues

AU0804182690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 8 Apr 90

[Report on news conference with Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, and Prime Minister Petre Roman by local and foreign reporters in Bucharest on 8 April—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] This afternoon, Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], and Prime Minister Petre Roman met with

foreign reporters and Romanian journalists. The questions referred to aspects of our social, political, and economic life [words indistinct] and dealt with the current political situation, which is dominated by the (?20 May elections). The majority of questions dwelled on economic matters [words indistinct] and our country's alignment to the world economy [words indistinct].

In response to the first group of questions about the electoral campaign, which is in full swing, Mr. Ion Iliescu talked about the national conference of the National Salvation Front [NSF], emphasized [words indistinct], and said:

[Iliescu] "From this viewpoint, the NSF is a relatively young organization, born in the fire of the revolution. From an organizational viewpoint, it began to structure itself only recently. It currently has some 900,000 members, getting close to one million. So, from an organizational viewpoint, it has structured itself only recently. Therefore, one can say that its internal cohesion is not too strong. However, (?it is worthwhile pointing out) the broad adherence—not only of the Front's members, but also of a large number of supporters—to the Front's ideas and platform, which was worked out on 22 December and consists of 10 programmatic points. This platform was enriched during the month of February, and today, at the first NSF nationwide meeting, we adopted a platform which had been improved on, submitted to public debate, and discussed even during the conference. It now has a more solid base of [word indistinct], understanding, and action."

[Announcer] [Words indistinct] participants in the news conference asked about a possible international supervision of the 20 May elections. Here are the answers of Messrs Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman to this question:

[Iliescu] "We officially turned to the United Nations and discussed this matter with the UN general secretary and the [word indistinct] of the Geneva-based UN headquarters and [words indistinct] not a proper supervision, but they will send a team to discuss with us the issue of the presence of some observers. [passage indistinct] The Council of Europe can send observers and there is room for representatives of European parliaments. However, nothing has been (?decided) so far [passage indistinct]."

[Roman] "The government is (?involved) in all this [words indistinct], because the government has (?the task) of organizing the elections [words indistinct]. Practically all organizations that wish it can (?obtain) the status of observer."

[Announcer] Answering another question [words indistinct], Mr. Petre Roman said:

[Roman] "Neither I, nor other government members belong to the NSF Coordinating Council, because this government functions as a transitional government, hence its members have not been chosen on the basis of political criteria, but rather on the criteria of competence, value, and moral integrity."

[Announcer] There were also many economic problems [words indistinct], which referred both to the process of overall privatization and its social consequences [passage indistinct].

[Iliescu] "The question of Romania's passage to a market economy is a realistic one, in keeping with objective requirements. Regardless of [words indistinct], the world economy is a single whole [passage indistinct]. The market relations are those which determine the economic life [words indistinct]."

[Announcer] The news conference was characterized by an [word indistinct] and open atmosphere.

Roman Calls for 'Elimination' of Communism

AU0704190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 7 Apr 90

["Prime Minister Petre Roman's Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/4/1990—Speaking at the national conference of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Prime Minister Petre Roman said that the Front "stands for the elimination once and for all of the communist system, which bred one of the most monstrous dictatorships in Europe and, possibly, the world."

To improve the general living standard is in the focus of the NSF, Mr Petre Roman said. Of the market-economy strategy, the speaker said he favoured one that is set on the laws of economics "that should discard arbitrariness, the will of an all-powerful and all-embracing state divorced from the people's real will." To make large state enterprises stock-owned companies does not mean they are abandoned from the public sector wherefore, one of Romania's options at this time of economic restructuring should be "conservation in the public sector of the financial levers of social and economic infrastructure" he said and added "Romania's development programmes would have to be founded on a responsible re-thinking of the fate of the country, on a competent, not enthusiastic option, which gives it credibility." Furthermore, the prime minister showed that "any society is renovated, but characteristic for our country will be the fact that it is going to be renovated in a geometric progression at an unprecedented rate, because Romania is the only East European country that made a revolution, not just a change of system."

Church Representatives at Cults Ministry

AU3103195790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0939 GMT 31 Mar 90

["Transylvania: Meeting of Church Representatives"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/3/1990—Representatives of the hierarchy of churches with traditional-historical attestation in Romania were invited by the Ministry of the Cults to a conference in an ecumenic spirit, out of the wish to

contribute to the reinstatement of the moral and social balance severely imperilled recently by the escalation of tensions between the Romanian and Hungarian populations in Transylvania. Present were the Right Reverend Dr. Antonie Plamadeala, metropolitan of Transylvania, the Right Reverend Dr. Nestor Vornicescu, metropolitan of Oltenia, the Right Reverend Dr. Timotei Saviciu, bishop of Transylvania, the Right Reverend Roman Ialomiteanu, vicar bishop of Bucharest Archbishopric, and Professor Constantin Galeriu, administration vicar on behalf of the Romanian Orthodox Church, other high prelates from the country.

On the occasion, Nicolae Stoicescu, minister of the cults, stressed that "the church has the sacred duty and mission to help reinstating peace, using its exclusive arm: Christian teaching".

The discussions emphasized the fundamental role the church, by its cult practices, by the teaching and precepts of Christian morals, can and must play now at this grave moment of the country.

Ion Caramitru Meets Transylvanian Priests

AU0304180290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1717 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/4/1990—A working meeting of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church opened at the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest on Tuesday, April 3, as part of the process of renewing the revitalizing religious life against the background of the deep-going changes wrought in Romania after the December revolution. The working commissions of the Holy Synod also met.

In the attendance were hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church and the minister of religious denominations, Mr. Nicolae Stoicescu.

The same day, a delegation of Orthodox priests from Transylvania were received by Mr. Ion Caramitru, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council. They approached aspects related to the links between the Orthodox and the Greco-Catholic Churches, as well as other topical issues of the Romanian religious life.

Church Reinstates Orthodox Patriarch Teoctist

AU0504182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1437 GMT 5 Apr 90

["Religious Life: Back into the Patriarchal See"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/4/1990—The Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church unanimously decided in its 4 April 1990 meeting to ask his Beatitude Patriarch Teoctist to resume the leadership of the Holy Synod and his other prerogatives as Patriarch of Romania.

The basis for the decision are the many requests from the clergy and the faithful, and the Holy Synod's unanimous decision when it met on 18 January not to accept, on canonical grounds, the Patriarch's withdrawal but only to respect his wish for health reasons.

With his health restored, his Beatitude the Patriarch has agreed to resume his duties, a statement sent to ROMPRES agency by the Romanian Patriarchy says.

Synod's Relations With Eastern-Rite Catholics

AU0504182690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 5 Apr 90

["Religious Life—For Open Dialogue With the Catholic Church"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/4/1990—The ROMPRES Agency received a statement from the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church about its relations with the Eastern-rite Catholic Church (the former Romanian Unitarian Church), which were analysed by the Holy Synod in its 4 April meeting. It lists the attempts that the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Ministry for Religuous Affairs made to pen dialogue with the hierarchs of Romania's Eastern-rite Catholic Church, and which ended in failure.

Showing that the Eastern-rite of the Catholic Church has not applied to the Romanian state for recognition, the Holy Synod says that this is a duty of any religious organization. Yet, the statement says, the hierarchs and the clergy of this rite claim back all the churches that belonged to the Unitarian Church prior to 1948. The places of worship and the parish houses of all churches in the country are the property of the respective communities, the Holy Synod says.

However motivated by the wish to promote climate of understanding, the Holy Synod takes the view that if, after the Eastern-rite Catholic Church has become legal, there are believers who wish to belong to it, then mixed commissions should be set up (to include representatives of the church and of the state authority) to decide in agreement with the laws in force on the property of the parish subject to division on the basis of the proportionality principle.

Furthermore, the clergy and the faithful of the Romanian Orthodox Church state their readiness to help Oriental-rite Catholic believers to build their own places of worship.

The statement ends by showing that although the Holy Synod regards as unjustified the reason for which the Vatican has recently appointed five bishops for the Oriental-rite Catholic Church in Romania, it is still open to a dialogue with the Catholic Church of both rites (Latin and Eastern) in Romania, to settle all the problems concerning the relations between churches peacefully.

Synod Demands Introduction of Religious Teaching

AU0604184390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1042 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/4/1990—A commission of clergymen and laymen will advance proposals to the Ministry of Instruction as concerns the introduction of a religion class in the curricula of primary and secondary schools, observing the pupils' confessions.

The decision of setting up the commission was made by the Holy Synod of Theconian [name as received] Orthodox Church that met on 3 and 4 April.

The communique on the decisions adopted during the session [word indistinct], minister of instruction, attended the debates on that question.

The other decisions concerning the renewal and proper course of the church life within the Romanian Patriarchy refer to:

—an appeal to all the Romanian Orthodox faithful abroad inspired by the wish of the mother church to strengthen their unity,
—the reestablishment of two old eparchies—the Archbishopric of Tirgoviste and the Archbishopric of Suceava and Radauti,
—the change of the name of several eparchies, namely the Metropolitanate of Moldova and Suceava should be called the Metropolitanate of Moldova and Bukovina, the Mitropolitanate of Oungro-Walachia should be named the Mitropolitanate of Walachia and Dobrogea, and the Bishopric of Galati should be named the Bishopric of Lower Danube,
—the blessing on principle for the calling of an all-country conference of priests.

Iliescu, Others Meet Church Dignitaries

AU0904193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 9 Apr 90

["Religion: Solving Differences"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/4/1990—Monday, 9 April, Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, and PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Vice-Presidents Radu Campeanu, Ion Caramitru, Ion Minzatu, and Cazimir Benedict Ionescu, as well as Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu, met with leaders of the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Churches, Patriarch Teoctist and Alexandru Todea, Archbishop and Metropolitan of Alba Iulia and Fagaras.

Opening the meeting, Mr Ion Iliescu referred to a series of problems that have cropped up in the relations between the Orthodox and Catholic Eastern Churches, stressing the need to initiate a dialogue between the two sides to solve litigations.

The participants in the meeting, a communique relayed to ROMPRES News Agency reads, agreed that the two churches are made up of brother Romanians, who love Christ and the nation, beyond existing faith differences which should not be a pretext for disunion.

It was agreed that a new normative act should be drafted to complement the existing one by acknowledging and authorizing the legal functioning of the Catholic Eastern rite. The same decree will stipulate the restitution by the state of the assets that belonged to the Romanian Uniate Church and are now in the possession of the state. It was specified that the future decree will not refer to the parochial properties as they do not belong to the state.

As the number of places of worship is insufficient in numerous settlements, the readiness of the state bodies was expressed to contribute to building new churches.

The setting up of a central joint commission was also agreed upon in principle, as well as the setting up of local commissions of the two churches to examine modalities of practically solving the problems concerning the use or getting of places of worship.

The representatives of the two churches also decided to put an end to any controversy expressing their hope that the peaceful settlement of differences will contribute to the international ecumenical dialogue between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

* Vatican Appointment of New Bishops Viewed

27000011A Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Sin of Misunderstanding"]

[Text] Quoting Joachim Navarro, spokesman for the Holy See, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE and the ASSOCIATED PRESS report that Pope John Paul II appointed six new bishops of the Roman Catholic church and five Greek-Catholic bishops in Romania last week. Announcing the news, Joachim Navarro said that the Vatican is "extremely happy" with the changes which have taken place in Romania, giving the impression that the resumption of diplomatic relations with Bucharest, broken off by the Communists in 1950, is imminent. However, the step created a situation which is without precedent in bilateral relations, since the decision was made—as the spokesman acknowledges—independently by the Pope, without consulting the Romanian Government ahead of time, which is a violation of the principles of contemporary international law.

In context, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE stresses that, "last year, the Vatican reestablished diplomatic relations with Poland and Hungary. Last month, the Pope completed the process of restoring the Church in Czechoslovakia, giving it full power, for the first time since World War II. This action was undertaken over a period of time and not in a day, as in Romania." Expressing his surprise and, at the same time, his concern in regard to the Vatican's action, Nicolae Stoicescu, minister of religious affairs, recalled, in a statement made to the Romanian

press, that there was a concordat between Romania and the Holy See, ratified in 1929, when there was extensive discussion in parliament. The agreement stipulated, among other things, that the establishment of the [Roman] Catholic and Greek-Catholic dioceses in Romania, as well as the appointment of persons to high-level hierarchical positions would take place on the basis of common agreement with our state. Although the concordat was denounced by the Romanian side in 1948, the Romanian Catholic Church—Stoicescu said—has continued to operate in Romania up to the present. The appointment of members of the hierarchy was carried out with tacit observance of the provisions of the concordat.

In light of all these elements, the minister of religious affairs believes that the unilateral action of the Vatican in creating dioceses and appointing Catholic hierarchy on Romanian territory creates an undesired precedent for the promotion of normal relations between our country and the Holy See, as well as between the Romanian state and the Catholic Church in Romania.

It is evident that it is a matter of misunderstandings which have occured as a result of erroneous interpretations of the actual situation and as a result of taking rash steps. The important thing now is not the determination of the causes which have led to this situation which, in our opinion, was not desired by either of the parties, but the involvement of the parties in constructive efforts to identify the ways and means to rise above the disagreement. We are sure that they will do this but a sin of misunderstanding is appearing.

Celac 'Conciliatory' on Hungarian Relations

LD0704224690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 90

[Text] The Romanian foreign minister has spoken in conciliatory tones about the Romanian-Hungarian relations. Our reporter, Peter Marvanyi, reports from Bucharest:

[Begin Marvanyi recording] We want not just neighborly, but good-neighborly relations, said Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac in his statement to Romanian MAGYAR SZO, adding that a package plan they will be presenting to the new Hungarian Government will be ready shortly. The Romanian Government committed itself to a substantial improvement in relations between the two countries, Celac stated. Later, in answer to a question, he declared that no civilized European country can claim the right to represent the citizens of another country politically. Talking about the events of past weeks, he mentioned the slight exaggerations arising from the emotional content of the electoral campaign on the party of some responsible politicians. This statement, compared to a number of earlier government statements, means a rather conciliatory tone. [end recording]

Further on Slovene Election Results

AU0904142090 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Report by Marjan Rogelj from the Election Commission in the Slovene Republican Assembly Building in Ljubljana—live]

[Text] The data in the Republican Election Commission computer has virtually not changed for several hours. They change by a tenth of a percentage point or so, but this does not change at all the position or the ranking of the candidates for president or for Presidency members. The reporters here have fallen into the trap of inevitable repetitions, which is a logical consequence of the slow inflow of new and final results of the elections.

For instance, for Presidency members, the results are final in only 35 communes, and no results at all have been received from four communes. If I am reading the computer program properly, these communes are Ljubljana-Center, Ljubljana-Siska, Ptuj, and Tolmin.

Here are some unofficial results of the elections for the position of president. We checked them a few minutes ago. They represent 1,153,335 votes cast, out of which 26,422 are invalid:

Kucan: 44.3 percent;

Pucnik: 26.4 percent; the results from Ribnica brought him an extra tenth of a percentage point;

Kramberger: 18.9 percent;

Demsar: 10.5 percent.

One interesting point is that out of 62 communes, Pucnik won in six. Kramberger received the most votes in one commune, Sentjur near Celje, and the rest gave a majority to Kucan.

There have been no changes regarding the Presidency members, except that Ivan Oman gained another tenth of a percentage point.

The results are: Zlobec 53.5 percent, Oman 46.5, Kmecelj 38.5, and Plut 38.4 percent. They are still followed by Zizek and Rupel, who are close together with about 35 percent.

No results are available for other elections, which is to say for the two Assembly chambers, except for a few results from some polling stations that can give no basis for any prediction or estimate and are irrelevant at this moment, if one considers the whole, of course.

The Election Commission will have a session at 1700 [1500 GMT]. Some more results of the elections will be available by then. It is expected that the final election results for president and Presidency members will be available between 2000 and 2100 [1800 and 1900 GMT].

Candidates' Statements

AU0904144090 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] All four presidential candidates gave news conferences at the Press Center at Cankar Hall in Ljubljana late this morning. We will now hear a few short excerpts from statements by Marko Demsar, Joze Pucnik, Milan Kucan, and Ivan Kramberger.

[Begin recording] [Demsar] It is true that I predicted my victory in these elections, and I feel that these elections are a victory—not just my own victory, but a victory that includes a million and several hundred thousand voters. We felt this victory the moment when the election commissions handed us our ballot papers and we were able to choose freely among the numerous candidates.

[Pucnik] I would like to say two or three things. I would like to express my warm thanks to all the voters who voted for me, and to all those who thought and pondered and decided not to do so. I would also like to make a request to all those who were unable to vote on 8 April. It is a great pity. I would ask them to think again and perhaps come to the polls next time, (?in their own cause and for their own sake).

[Kucan] Well, I feel very well, much better than yesterday at the same time. If I could say a few words in connection with the elections on 8 April, I would say that the elections have shown that Slovenia is a country with people of a European, democratic disposition. This conclusion is possible because of the fact that the elections occurred calmly and in a dignified way—without incidents such as those that occurred in some other places in East Europe—the turnout was high, and all this shows our people's high awareness. This high awareness and high turnout indicate that Slovenia is becoming successful in its march toward Europe.

[Kramberger] I give my special thanks to all the voters who voted for Kramberger this time. Kramberger will continue to struggle for them. Kucan and I have just arranged for me to run in Belgrade. [Words indistinct] but I will not get gray hair (?like Kucan), because I am a little taller than he is, and because I am tougher. [end recording]

Candidates' News Conference

AU0904164890 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Bostjan Lajovic report on news conference by Slovene presidential candidates Marko Demsar, Joze Pucnik, Milan Kucan, and Ivan Kramberger in Ljubljana on 9 April]

[Text] Dr. Marko Demsar was the first to answer questions by journalists. He said that the elections on 8 April were, above all, a victory for democracy, and therefore he himself feels like a winner. There is no point in

speculating about a new government or possible coalitions until the final election results are known. Asked to whom he will dedicate the votes of those who voted for him on 8 April, Demsar replied that this is a matter for every voter personally. He himself or the Liberal Party do not wish to influence the outcome of the elections in this way.

Dr. Joze Pucnik first assured the many journalists that he had a good night's sleep, and at the same time he expressed thanks to the voters for their support. He assessed the results at the moment as a success, for in a few months he has succeeded in building a recognizable political image despite unequal opportunities, because in his opinion Milan Kucan had a considerable advantage. He did not say anything definite about a new government or coalitions because one should wait for the official results. Pucnik nevertheless did not exclude the possibility of cooperation even with the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform, if that party accepts the basic program points of Demos.

Some specific replies were: We do not intend to continue the nonaligned policy, and in general, in foreign policy we will link only with those who are prepared for equal cooperation. The new government should be a group of the best people of this nation and should be based on consensus. The large percentage of votes won by Kramberger is surprising, but sociologically and psychologically understandable.

As he himself said, Milan Kucan appeared much more rested and relaxed than he was on 8 April, and he commented on the results of the moment as a success. What he considers particularly significant is the considerable difference between himself and Pucnik. Precisely for this reason, he will enter the second round with a considerable dose of optimism.

Milan Kucan then expressed his thanks to the voters, and he assessed the work of the election commissions and the media as excellent; the latter have performed their task properly. In his other answers, Kucan was cautious, saying that we should wait for the final election results. The results so far, nevertheless, confirm the correctness of his political orientation and of the work he represents.

Ivan Kramberger caused some laughter at the end. He feels like a moral victor in these elections because he got so far alone, with his own money and work. Kramberger thinks that now he will decide the victor in the second round, but he does not wish to make a present of his votes to anybody. Kramberger announced his future political career because he seems about to form a new party that allegedly has 10,000 members.

Commentary on Elections

AU0904181190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Rastko Mocnik commentary]

[Text] For the president and members of the Presidency, voters obviously want sober, moderate people without pronounced party ties. This trend shows that the voters know very well what role the president and the Presidency play in the present system, and that they have maturely assessed what political profile the Slovene state's future leadership should possess.

Among the four presidential candidates, only Joze Pucnik appeared with a pronounced program, based on the standpoint of the Demos coalition. His orientation obviously does not suit the present feeling among the voters, because he won relatively few votes in the first round. If the first round is decided by the prevailing wish that the president should be above the parties, it may well happen that some other division will decide the second round, the division between a traditional politician, like Pucnik and Kramberger, and a modern politician, like Kucan and Demsar.

Regarding this dilemma, the voters are much less decided. The relatively poor success of Demsar as a candidate warns us that an intellectual, skeptical politician who does not make rash decisions cannot count on considerable support among the Slovene voters for the time being.

A true surprise is the success of Kramberger. Almost one-fifth of the Slovene voters decided according to their hearts, which is to say expressly unpolitically. Considering that such people are probably also numerous among those who voted for Pucnik, the politics in the future will have to seriously take into account this strong minority of social sideliners, who certainly constitute a great, unexploited, and even suppressed human treasure of modern Slovene society.

The outcome of the second round of the presidential elections is therefore uncertain and will probably be close. Voters will decide between Kucan's modernism and intellectualism, and Pucnik's traditionalism and populism.

The elections of the Presidency members show that an enlightened, intellectual posture is no catch among the Slovene voters at present, unless it is accompanied by a large amount of folksiness, not to say populism. It appears that Slovene voters still confuse intellectual acuteness with moral acuteness and even a little with intolerance. The comparatively poor success of candidate Kmecelj, who, according to polls before the elections, was an undisputable second favorite, may predict the difficulties that candidate Kucan will have to tackle in the second round. Both are somewhat too intellectual for the voters, and they are Communists to boot.

The mild trinity in the Presidency—Zlobec, Oman, and Plut—nevertheless shows that the voters have elected for us a reliable leadership for an uncertain future. On the other hand, we may be somewhat frightened by the pronounced failure of the candidates who were rather

advocates of the spirit than heralds of moralism. This was the failure of Demsar, Krizman, Novak, Zupancic, and Oblak.

Kramberger's sideliners, who will decide on the state president in the second round, still do not know that the intellectuals and their political representatives [words indistinct] and for the time being prefer moralistic preachers.

Demos Win Over 50 Percent

AU0904192190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1900 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] At the Press Center at Cankar Hall in Ljubljana, journalists are impatiently awaiting at least an official confirmation that the latest results available about the votes for the president and members of the Presidency of the republic may be announced as unofficial results.

It has been clear all day today that Milan Kucan and Joze Pucnik will go into the second round of elections, and it has been obvious since this afternoon that the Presidency members will be Ciril Zlobec, Ivan Oman, Matjaz Kmecl, and Dusan Plut.

Data on the party vote in the Sociopolitical Chamber are also flowing in with some more speed. The proportions are discernible, although the percentage figures are still changing. Demos as the united opposition—although every party ran separately in this chamber—probably won over 50 percent of the votes. According to the latest data that embrace 200,000 voters, the LCS [initials of the former League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform has gained 20 percent, and the ZSMS [initials of the former Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]—Liberal Party just over 17 percent of the votes.

No Overall Winner for Presidency

LD0904201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—After the vote counting from the last municipalities had ended, it was officially confirmed tonight that no one of the four candidates for the office of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency president had received an absolute majority of votes.

According to the latest results, 44.5 percent of the voters cast their vote for Milan Kucan, the candidate of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal and of the Slovene Socialist Alliance, and 26.6 percent of the voters voted for Dr. Joze Pucnik, candidate of the Demos democratic opposition. In so doing, Kucan and Pucnik will confront each other again during the second round of the election, while the remaining two presidential candidates—Ivan Kramberger, an independent candidate (who received 18.5 percent of the votes), and Dr. Marko Demsar, a candidate of the Federation of Slovene Socialist Youth-Liberal Party (who received 10.4 percent of the votes), have dropped out of the race. The second round of the election will be 22 April.

4 Elected to Presidency

LD0904204390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—On the basis of the 1,086,445 inspected ballots, the Republican Election Commission stated this evening at 2100 [1900 GMT] that, out of 12 candidates, the following were elected members of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency: Ciril Zlobec (53.8 percent), Ivan Oman (46.7 percent), Dr. Matjaz Kmecl (38.4 percent), and Dr. Dusan Plut (38.3 percent). The Republican Election Commission noted that in all probability this result would not be changed, although there was a theoretical possibility that Dr. Slavoj Zizek would move into the fourth position. [passage omitted]

Election Data Incomplete

AU0904203990 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2000 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Let us hear Vesna Burnik, who summarizes the official elections results:

[Burnik] The Republican Election Commission still lacks final election results for the members of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency. The data are still missing from two communes, Grosuplje and Koper, and officials are just now trying to contact them by telephone to see what the hitch is.

Nevertheless, the results of the elections of the president and Presidency members have been displaying the well-known picture virtually all day. Milan Kucan and Joze Pucnik are going into the second round, and we will chose between them on 22 April.

The Presidency members will be Ciril Zlobec, Ivan Oman, Matjaz Kmecl, and Dusan Plut, the last two having an equal number of votes, according to the latest results.

On 8 April, we also voted for the Sociopolitical Chamber, the only Assembly chamber truly formed on party principles. The results were flowing in slowly today, and they are still very incomplete and do not say much. If we can deduce from the experience gained in the flow of the results of the presidential elections, the present data nevertheless indicates a certain trend.

The proportions indicated—but this indeed is purely a journalist's guesswork—may be as follows: The parties that are in Demos, if they remain a coalition after the elections, will probably have more than 50 percent of seats in this chamber. The LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform will probably have about one-fifth of the seats, and the ZSMS [former initials of the former

Socialist Youth of Slovenia]—Liberal Party the same. However, one will have to wait for more precise results at least until tomorrow morning.

There have been no results on the election of delegates to the Communal Chamber yet, and nobody in the Election Commission has been able to tell us when we can expect them: Either tomorrow morning, at least in part, or only late in the afternoon, or perhaps even in the evening.

Croatian LC Leader Praises Slovene Elections

LD0904211190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 9 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 9 Apr (TANJUG)—The atmosphere in which the election in the Republic of Slovenia took place, and the initial results too, show that Slovene citizens have voted for democracy. Ivica Racan, president of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes Central Committee, said this today to Radio Ljubljana. This is the meaning of the opening of the democratic process for which, without a doubt, tribute must be paid to the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal also.

"We have already sent our congratulations to Comrades Kucan and Ribicic regarding these results, stressing especially the high level of trust they have won among the voters during the first round of the elections. The Slovene electoral body obviously voted for stability and development through changes but without extremes and excessive emotions, that is, they voted responsibly and with a great deal of common sense." [passage omitted]

Charges Against Vlasi Expected To Be Dropped

LD0604180890 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Report by correspondent Smiljana Sunde in Pristina]

[Excerpt] The news that has been expected for the past few days, and particularly today, was finally confirmed this afternoon. After the 5 April adjournment of the trial of Azem Vlasi and the 14 accused Albanians in Titova Mitrovica, followed shortly by Public Prosecutor Spasoje Zamfirovic's trip to Belgrade to attend new consultations, [words indistinct] within an hour the decision was made to drop the indictment. There is no official statement yet, but it is expected to be, most probably, announced on 9 April—that is, no later than 9 April. This is also the day the continuation of the trial was scheduled for. If this decision is officially announced on 9 April, the Titova Mitrovica prison administrator will release Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Burhan Kavaja, Lazar Krasnici, and the other 11 accused Albanians. [passage omitted]

Additional Poisoning Cases Reported in Kosovo

AU0604185290

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 6 April reports that today 46 pupils reported to the Pristina Medical Faculty Clinic showing the usual symptoms of poisoning, six of whom were kept for further treatment, while the rest were sent home after being given first aid. The radio also reports nine cases of poisoning in Urosevac Commune today and an additional five cases in Djakovica, following last night's report that four pupils had been given treatment.

'Farce of the Alleged Poisoning'

LD0604170890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—A second wave of alleged poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren has spread to Pristina. Today, in the local agricultural school, four schoolgirls of Albanian nationality faked poisoning, following which the panic spread among the other schoolchildren. The outcome of this staged performance is that pupils attending 13 classes in Albanian left their classrooms.

At the Brotherhood and Unity school in Suva Reka, schoolchildren of Albanian nationality suddenly "smelled a funny odor," and then went out into the schoolyard. While the farce of the alleged poisoning of Albanians—although less widespread—still continues, those who at the height of the epidemic of the sudden "sickness" mercilessly attacked schoolchildren of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities will be held accountable.

The Pristina district court ordered an investigation against Alija Podvorica (37) from Podujevo on the suspicion that, on 22 March, during the mass simulation of poisoning in the municipality, he beat schoolboy Milos Ivanovic. Podvorica will be charged with the criminal act of violence endangering rights and liberties of citizens of other nations or nationalities.

On the account of the suspicion of committing a criminal act, Ejup Haliti (48) from Glavnik village, near Podujevo, will be held accountable for taking part in a physical attack on schoolboys Mirko Paunovic and Bozidar Vukadinovic on 22 March. Haliti, as stated in the prosecution's demand, held the hands of schoolchildren of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities while a group of Albanians beat them with their fists.

Misim Gabrica (27), and Hisen Hiseni (22), from near Urosevac, will be charged with the criminal act of violence on the account of the suspicion that on 23 March they took part in the beating of Miodrag Zivkovic, prior to which they asked for his identity papers and searched him for the alleged poison.

Group Questions Probe

LD0604225790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2051 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, April 6 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the largest alternative organisation of ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province, today sent a protest letter to the federal government because it reportedly took its time to clear up the alleged poisoning of ethnic Albanian students.

In a number of Kosovo places close to 2000 ethnic Albanian students simulated inexplicable symptoms of alleged poisoning. The provincial and federal team of medical experts established that there had been no poisoning. A strange single-nation "epidemic" was the cause of a new wave of Albanian separatists terrorism over Serbian and Montenegrin population. Official assessments therefore are that "special warfare" methods have been employed and that an attack on the constitutional foundations of the country was involved.

The Kosovo Democratic Alliance claims that the "poisoning can be qualified as [word indistinct] on the part of nationalists and separatists."

A group of ethnic Albanian doctors from the Pristina medical faculty protested at the same time against the assessment of the Serbian Medical Society which accused them of monstrously abusing medical ethnics for political purposes.

Ethnic Albanian doctors have stated that they do not recognize the Serbian Medical Society and that about one hundred doctors who have come from Serbia to help them are "uninvited guests."

Lately attempts have again been made throughout the province to stage a new wave of false poisoning. Thus, because of an alleged poisoning of four ethnic Albanian girl-students, lessons were abandoned by students of 13 classes in a Pristina school. However, the allegedly poisoned ethnic Albanian students frequently jumped off stretchers and ran away when the police approached to check their identity and the identity of those accompanying them.

Kosovo Presidency on Constitutional Changes

LD0704025990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—Having examined today the SFRY Presidency proposal to proceed with changing the federal Constitution, the Kosovo Presidency noted that the adoption of a new constitution would create necessary constitutional and legal conditions for the speedier resolution of major problems facing our country for years, for a quicker way out of the economic, political and social crisis, and for the further development based on reforms. In this way, it is stated in the Presidency session's communique, broader conditions would be created for a stable and more successful economic and social development, democratic social processes, the development, enrichment, and consolidation of the basic values of our society, for the full equality of our nations and nationalities, the federative character of our community based on the original AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles, its general progress, and the continuing consolidation of independence and reputation in the world. [passage omitted on Kosovo Presidency noting that the new constitution should ensure efficient development of a modern law-governed state, unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia, the responsibility of republics and provinces for their own development, a clearly defined status for the provinces, and the encouragement of creative democratic initiatives.]

Kosovo Alternative Groups Reject 'Insinuations'

AU0604191990 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] At today's news conference by Kosovo alternative groups, Kosovo Democratic Alliance Chairman Ibrahim Rugova rejected the insinuations made against this organization, especially those by the [Serbian] Association for the Truth About Kosovo that, as is known, a few days ago left the roundtable talks organized by the Yugoslav Alternative in Pristina.

Ibrahim Rugova called on the state bodies not to hinder the work of the Democratic Alliance. He particularly appealed to the Kosovo Assembly to prepare a document on the free union of citizens in free organizations, as has been done in most republics. The Democratic Alliance representatives also condemned the stand taken by Ante Markovic in connection with the unexplained recent cases of illness of Albanian pupils. They said that apparently someone's well-protected criminal hand is still doing its work. The poisoning cases, says the Alliance's press release, is tantamount to genocide, which is condemned by all international norms. The explanation about a supposed scenario by Albanian nationalists and separatists can only be termed as unexplainable naivete.

Journalists at the news conference were also handed a document signed by 500 Kosovo physicians in connection with the stand adopted by the Serbian Association of Physicians at their meeting in Prokupje, at which they cast doubts on the competence of Kosovo physicians and medical institutions.

The news conference was also addressed by Youth Parliament representatives, who protested the arrest of some of its members in various communes.

In addition, the Pristina branch of the Association for the Return of Albanian Emigrants released the text of a letter addressed to the SFRY Presidency and Federative Executive Council, in which it demands the annulment of the convention between Turkey and Yugoslavia in connection with the emigration of Albanians to Turkey.

adding that between 1953 and 1966 over 240,000 Albanians have emigrated to Turkey without the right to return.

Internal Affairs Official Discusses Kosovo

LD0704044490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 6 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 6 Apr (TANJUG)—In Kosovo, public order and peace has been established in all areas, and the personal and property safety of all its citizens, especially the most endangered Serbs and Montenegrins, has been ensured. The current security situation continues to be complex, however, stated Boro Tomic, undersecretary of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SUP) of Serbia for public security, to TANJUG in Pristina today.

The situation in Kosovo, he pointed out, must be considered in light of overall events in society. The many years of activity by Albanian nationalists and separatists cannot be stopped overnight. However, after the crushing of the most recent separatist uprising of Albanian nationalists and the staged single-nationality "poisoning," the security situation is showing certain signs of gradual improvement, Boro Tomic said.

This improvement, he observed, has certainly been aided by the latest measures of the Serbian Socialist Republic [SR] Presidency. Regarding the attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins on the occasion of the alleged poisoning, Boro Tomic said the security service has registered several tens of such incidents. Twenty citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality were seriously and slightly injured in this way. The most injuries were in Podujevo: seven; Gnjilane and Urosevac: four each; and Vucitrn: three. Seventy-five citizens were ill-treated in various ways.

Tomic noted the type of assaults concerned are revealed by incidents in which children and even babies were ill-treated. In Vucitrn on 22 March, a group of citizens of Albanian nationality attacked the Bojevic family, which included two adolescent children, and tried to seize one child from them. A similar thing happened in Gnjulane when a group of Albanians attacked Svetlana Vitic, attempting to forcibly drag her from her car in which were her two children—a 13-year-old daughter, who fainted out of fear, and her son of only 17 months. The attackers have been identified and criminal charges have been brought against them, Boro tomic said.

In the previous measures of the internal affairs bodies, Tomic announced, light has been thrown on 25 of the most serious cases of attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins. Thirty-six criminal charges have also been brought against 45 persons, and 28 attackers have been detained. Specialist teams are looking into the other cases.

In the events concerning the mysterious poisoning of citizens of the Albanian nationality, Tomic noted, there were also attacks on members of the security service. The case of the attack on three inspectors of the security center in Urosevac stands out.

Speaking about the persons who are not health workers, and who in white overcoats "secured" the clinics of the Pristina Medical Faculty, Boro Tomic said 40 individuals have been detained, 38 have received warnings, and criminal charges have been brought against two. However, there were also similar cases in other places in the province, and citizens of the Albanian nationality on this occasion entered sterilized rooms and even operating theaters.

In view of the fact that the security situation has been exceptionally complex over the past 20 days or so and that, in the main, preventative measures have been taken, Boro Tomic pointed out that there have also been certain failings in the work and irresponsible behavior of security officials. According to the statistics collected so far, he said, which are not definitive, it has been established that 33 workers of the Internal Affairs offices of the Kosovo Socialist Autonomous Province did not act in keeping with the law and the rules of the service. There were cases, Tomic stressed, in which policemen, at the behest of citizens of the Albanian nationality, led Serbs and Montenegrins into official rooms, searched them and inspected their cars. Several pretended to be poisoned, and there have also been cases in which they transported in their own cars people claiming to have been poisoned. Among them are three Albanian policemen who opposed workers of the combined militia unit when they intervened. The appropriate measures will, of course, Tomic said, be taken against all of them, but work differentiation is the way to improve the effectiveness of the service and discharge from it idle workers and opportunists, regardless of their national affiliation, as well as those who have placed themselves in the service of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Given this situation, and the interest of the public in the length of time that the special militia unit of the Republican SUP of Serbia might stay in Kosovo, Boro Tomic pointed out that they will be present for as long as the security conditions demand. There are no dilemmas here either, he said. It should not be forgotten that the Republic of Serbia is duty-bound and obliged to ensure the personal and property safety of all citizens within its territory, which means also in Kosovo, as a constituent part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Boro Tomic, undersecretary in the republican SUP of Serbia for public security, stressed in a statement to TANJUG.